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ABSTRACT

The Advertising section of the proceedings contains the following 16 papers: "Ethics of Advertising Practitioners: An Explanation Based on a Classical Theoretical Framework" (Cornelius B. Pratt and E. Lincoln James); "Sex Roles in Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements: An Overview of the Past 50 Years" (Melissa M. Spirek); "Is Seeing Believing Where Silver and Silicon Meet? A Matter of Credibility in Advertising and News Photography Contexts" (Danal W. Terry and Michael H. McBride); "A Comparative Analysis of the Use of Corporate Advertising in the United States and Japan" (Douglas M. McLeod and Motoko Kunita); "Using the FCB Grid to Write Advertising Strategy" (Johan C. Yssel and Mark W. Walchle); "Broadcast Condom Advertising: The Cultural Hypocrisy of Network Self-Regulation" (Randy Jacobs); "A New Framework for the Study of Advertising Creative Appeals" (Mark Secrist); "An Analysis of the Growth of Transnational Advertising Agencies in Five Asian Countries: 1970-1990" (Kwangmi Ko Kim and Katherine Toland Frith); "Measuring Media Image: Expectations, Perceptions, and Attitudes of Local Retail Advertisers" (Jana Frederick-Collins); "Television News and Ads as Sources of Issue Information--Another Piece for the Puzzle Board" (Xinshu Zhao and others); "An Analysis of Competition for Listeners and Advertisers between New England Areas of Dominant Influence" (Carolyn Boulger Miller): "American and Japanese Youth as Consumers: Similarities and Differences" (Jyotika Ramaprasad and others); "In Their Own Words: Advertisers and the Origins of the African-American Consumer Market" (Dwight E. Brooks); "An Interpretive Study of Visual Cues in Advertising" (Sandra Moriarty and Shay Sayre); "The Advertising Content of African-American Newspapers" (Stephen Lacy and Karyn Ramsey); and "An Advertising Processing Model: An Empirical Investigation of the Decomposability of Attitude toward the Ad and Attitude toward the Brand" (Kak Yoon and Bonnie Reece). (RS)

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Ethics of Advertising Practitioners: An Explanation Based on a Classical Theoretical Framework

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Ethics of Advertising Practitioners: An Explanation Based on a a Classical Theoretical Framework

ABSTRACT

This study examines the perceptions of four ethics scenarios and the relationships between such perceptions and demographic characteristics among 460 members of the American Advertising Federation. It indicates three major findings. First, in general, sample members' perceptions of four ethics scenarios do not correspond with a strong sense of ethics. Second, for the most part, demographic variables have minor significant effects on evaluations of the ethics scenarios. Finally, sample members do not have a strong preference for deontological (or nonconsequentialist) ethics.

A classical theoretical framework of teleological and nonconsequentialist ethics is used to explain the implications of these results for advertising practitioners. Suggestions for research are offered.

Ethics of Advertising Practitioners: An Explanation Based on a a Classical Theoretical Framework

Invariably, the advertising industry is a bull's-eye for public criticism. A reason for this is that advertising managers and their peers in other areas of promotion management, especially those in public relations and sales promotion, confront more ethical problems, on the average, than managers in other organizational subsystems. Because of the "trusted-counselor" and boundary roles of the promotional manager, she or he is thrust into the vortex of organizational decision making.

In response to some of the most common criticisms of advertising, Ekelund and Saurman argue that, from a marketwide perspective, (1) advertising is consistent with a competitive environment and is, indeed, integral to the process of competition as a means for entry into markets, as a vehicle for price reduction, and as a benefit to the consumer; and (2) professional codes of ethics and governmental regulations do not improve consumer welfare and may, indeed, impair it.[1]

Similarly, Kirkpatrick argues that social criticisms and the regulation of advertising are deeper manifestations of hostility toward capitalism and egoism and are infringements on consumers' and advertisers' rights.[2]

These arguments do not diminish concerns that the industry could sometimes be unfair or deceptive to the consumer, and that the ethics of advertisers leaves much to be desired.

This study, therefore, examines one area of advertising decision making vis-à-vis ethics: the self-reported ethics of sample members of the American Advertising Federation (AAF), as measured by their evaluation of four ethics scenarios.

Additionally, this present study extends previous work[3] that links ethical theory to organizational behavior by analyzing the self-reported ethics of advertising practitioners. Fritzsche and Becker underscore the importance of establishing such a link:

> Little effort has been made to try to link ethical theory to management behavior. This connection could be especially helpful in understanding the values held by managers as well as in providing a basis for altering behavior in a more ethical direction if such a change is deemed to be in the best interests of society.[4]

Further, this approach is important because "[ethical] theories are like windows onto the world of moral reasoning. They are meant to provide vantage points from which important ethical decisions can be considered."[5] Therefore, the results of this study are presented within a framework of five classical ethical theories.

Theoretical Framework

Five classical moral theories have potential relevance to the ethics of advertising practitioners. These are Aristotle's golden mean ("moral virtue is appropriate location between two extremes"); Kant's categorical imperative ("act on that maxim which you will to become a universal law"); Mill's principle of utility ("seek the greatest happiness for the greatest number"); Rawls's veil of ignorance ("justice emerges when negotiating ends ("love thy neighbor as yourself").

Aristotle's theory of the golden mean, a virtue-based ethics, strikes a moral balance between two extremes, one indicating excess, the other deficiency. The mean, in this context, is not a statistical mean but a willingness on the part of the decision maker to exercise moderation or temperance—a virtue. Such a mean relates to the individual's particular situation, her or his status, strengths and weaknesses.[6]

Deontological ethics is a duty-based, nonconsequentialist theory that asserts that certain human actions are inherently right or wrong. For example, it is always wrong to steal, lie or break a promise; it is our moral duty to tell the truth and to keep our promises—regardless of the consequences.

Utilitarian ethics, a form of teleological ethics, was enunciated by John Stuart Mill as that which seeks "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." To assess the "greatest good," a person or organization performs a cost-benefit analysis of an action. If the action would result in the good of the majority, that is, if its benefits for the "greatest number" outweigh its costs, then the act is ethically right.

Rawls's veil of ignorance, a neo-Kantian theory of justice, governs the assignment of rights and duties and regulates the distribution of social and economic advantages.[7] People, he argued, "have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others."[8]

Finally, Judeo-Christian morality is an altruistic tradition that is being popularized in the West as "the more dramatic term _agape_—unselfish, other-regarding care and other-directed love, distinct from friendship, charity, benevolence, and other weaker notions."[9]

It is these time-honored, classical ethical theories, which, in practice, are not mutually exclusive, that provide the framework for our discussion of the implications of self-reported ethics among a sample of advertising practitioners for the ethics of the advertising industry.

Research Questions

Given the paucity of empirical data on the ethics of advertising practitioners, particularly on the relevance of classical theories of ethics to the ethics of advertising practitioners, this study investigates four research questions:

- First, what are advertising practitioners' overall perceptions of ethics scenarios in advertising?
- Second, what are the effects of demographic variables—gender, age, years in full-time advertising, work setting, job title, number of employees supervised—on practitioners' perceptions of ethics situations in advertising?
- Third, to what extent, if any, do the self-reported ethics of practitioners vary significantly by type of ethical dilemmas confronted?
- Finally, given the traditional absence of deontological ethics among U.S. businesses—and their serpentine methods in responding to ethics situations—would such an absence also be

identified among advertising practitioners' perceptions of advertising ethics?

Method

Questionnaire Development. A three-part questionnaire containing six statements on each of four potentially troublesome scenarios on moral issues (Part A) and 17 statements on ethics issues (Part B) was designed and pretested for clarity and face validity on 20 respondents from the relevant population. Those respondents were excluded from the sample.

The scenarios were developed through extensive reviews of the standards of practice designed by three advertising associations: the 55,000-member AAF, the largest organization of advertising professionals whose code of ethics was established in 1965; the American Association of Advertising Agencies, whose code was first adopted in 1924; and the National Advertising Division/National Advertising Review Board, whose ethics code was created in 1971. The reviews identified issues of greatest ethical concern to the advertising industry.

The research literature on ethics in marketing and advertising was also examined for insights on formulating the scenarios. Hunt and Chonko,[10] for example, in extending an earlier study by Rotzoll and Christians,[11] identified six major ethical problems from responses of 300 advertising executives to an open-ended question. Wood et al. used 16 vignettes to examine the ethics of business students and business professionals.[12] Similarly, other studies used scenarios and statements to assess respondents' perceptions of ethics.[13]

Such hypothetical, ethics-related scenarios provide insight into business ethics, and have been found useful in replicating real-world situations for the purpose of evaluating moral conduct.[14]

Based on the pretest, the survey instrument was revised and tightened to fit into four pages of a single-fold, 11-inch-by-17-inch page.

Respondents were requested to circle a number that indicated a level of agreement with each of six statements on each scenario. Two questions on the survey instrument were based on a research model proposed by Levy and Dubinsky.[15] These items sought information on whether it was a good idea for a firm to have a policy that addressed the situation, and whether the practitioner's firm or company had any policy that addressed the situation. The modified forced-choice, four-point Likert-type responses to all items in the first part of the questionnaire were anchored by "definitely yes" (1) and "definitely no" (4). Space was provided after each scenario for respondents' comments. One hundred seventy-four respondents made such comments; some were extensive.

The third part had seven items on respondents' demographics.

The results reported in this phase of our study are based on the scenarios in the first part of the research instrument and on the demographic information provided in the last part of that instrument.

Sampling. Using a systematic random sampling procedure, names of AAF clubs and federations were selected from the 1991 roster of the AAF. Two thousand ten copies of the questionnaire were mailed in the fall of 1991 and the winter of 1992 to executive directors or secretaries of clubs, following the receipt of notification that club participation in the survey had been approved. Copies were distributed during general meetings of the clubs.

Four hundred eighty-one of the 2,010 copies were returned in a single-wave mailing, yielding a 23.9% response rate; of those 481, 460 (22.9% of the 2,010 mailed) were usable. This low response rate is consistent with those of similar studies,[16] which reported response rates between 21% and 31%. Hunt and Chonko suggest a reason for such low rates: "The topic of ethics is such a sensitive issue that many business people are extremely reluctant to respond to questionnaires that deal, even peripherally, with this issue."[17]

Data Collection. A single-wave mail survey was used to collect data from the practitioners. To encourage candid responses and to obtain an optimal response rate, a hand-typed, individually addressed covering letter, in which respondent's anonymity was assured, accompanied each questionnaire. A business-reply envelope accompanied each copy of the questionnaire.

Respondents were told not to write any identifying information on the questionnaire.

Results

Profile on Respondents. Table 1 presents a seven-point profile on the 460 respondents. The gender split was 46.5% female and 53.5% male. About 6% of the respondents were 25 years or younger, 34% were between 26 and 34 years old and between 35 and 43 years old. About 6% were each in the 53-years-to-61-years and the 62-years-or-older categories.

Respondents from each of the 25 states in the United States to which copies of the questionnaire were mailed returned them. However, 11 states each had fewer than 10 responses. California and Indiana, with 96 and 44 returns, respectively, had the most responses.

About 5.2% have had one or two years of full-time advertising experience, 24.1% between three and five years' experience, and 24.5% between six and 10 years' experience. Twenty-six percent have had between 11 and 20 years' experience.

Table 1 about here

In regard to institutional organizations, more than 55% work in an advertising agency or department. Thirteen percent work in companies or corporations, 16% for nonprofit organizations and 12% in other organizations.

About 36% of the respondents are in top-management positions, for example, as owners, presidents, executive vice presidents, vice presidents, and directors. Twenty-six percent are in upper-middle management positions as division heads, supervisors, and managers. About 35% are in lower-middle management positions, for example, as account executives, while 3% are non-management personnel.

A majority of the respondents have supervisory positions. While 29% do not supervise any employees, about 57% supervise between one and 10 employees, 9% between 11 and 20, and about 5% more than 21 employees.

Respondents' Evaluation of Scenarios.

(a) Scenario No. 1. Sixty percent of the respondents apparently were convinced that Mary, the ad director, was wrong. But only 20% felt that what she did warranted her being fired. In fact, 60% felt that most ad execs would do precisely what Mary did, and 40% reported that they would do what she did. The highest agreement among sample members was for Item 1: that it was a good idea that a policy be developed to address the situation in the scenario. So, while a majority (83%) reported that the severity of the situation required policy formulation, only 20% would take the dramatic step of firing Mary, suggesting, in essence, that the sample members think that such an ethical infraction should not result in dismissal. The mean for the statement on the need for a policy that addresses issues raised in the scenario was the lowest (1.63), again, indicating that that was an item with which respondents had their strongest agreement.

Table 2 about here

(b) Scenario No. 2. This was the only scenario on which more members (59%) agreed that they would do just what John did than agreed that what John did was wrong (56%). This scenario also had the distinction of being the only one on which respondents' strongest agreement (79%) was for the statement "most ad execs would do just what John did." While 24% reported that their companies did not have any policy on the scenario, 68% would welcome such a policy.

(c) Scenario No. 3. As in scenario No. 1, fewer respondents (40%) reported that they would do what Pete did than were those (64%) who reported that what he did was wrong. Respondents' strongest agreement was with the statement, "what Pete did was wrong"; next in agreement was that it was a good idea for their firms or departments to establish a policy on the situation.

(d) Scenario No. 4. Respondents reported their strongest agreement (mean = 1.52) with the statement "what Sally did was wrong." The second-lowest mean score (1.76) was for respondents' agreement with the statement that their companies or firms needed a policy on the situation. Among all four scenarios, scenario No. 4 had the highest percentages of agreement for statements 1 and 2, 86% and 56%, respectively. It also had the lowest percentage of agreement (13%) for statement No. 3.

Several statistical procedures were used to compute responses to all four scenarios, and to compare them. The first step was to determine whether there were any item-by-item differences between pairs of responses across all four scenarios. Scheffé's multiple-comparisons, repeated-measures design[18]—a conservative procedure which controls the experimentwise error rate—was used to determine such differences. All practitioners' responses were statistically different ($p < .05$, at least) from one another in four of the six statements, suggesting that the evaluation of the scenarios may have been based on different ethical criteria.

Table 3 about here

Non-significant differences were found between two variable pairs. These pairs, identified in Table 3, are for statement No. 1, scenarios 1 and 3 (2.24 and 2.13, respectively); and for statement No. 5, scenarios 1 and 4 (2.90 and 2.88, respectively).

For three of the four scenarios, respondents tended not to agree with the statement that the practitioner involved in the conduct identified in the scenarios did the wrong thing. However, in all scenarios, they also tended not to agree that the practitioner should be fired. It was only in scenario No. 4 (statement No. 2) that members definitely perceived the conduct as wrong; even so, the mean response to the statement "Sally should be fired" was 2.47, which was significantly different from respondents' positions on the firing of the three practitioners identified in the other scenarios.

Six dichotomous variables were established to examine the effects of practitioner characteristics on ethics: (1) gender (male vs. female); (2) age 43 years or younger, 44 years or older); (3) number of years in full-time advertising, (4) work setting; (5) management level (upper management, lower management); and (6) number of employees supervised (0 to 3, 4 or higher). These variables were used to split the sample for computation of independent two-tailed t-tests, comparing grand means for four statements across all scenarios.

The four statements whose grand means were used as dependent measures in the t-tests were (1) "what X did was wrong"; (2) "X should be fired"; (3) "I would do just what X did"; and (4) "regardless of my response . . . it is a good idea for my firm/dept. to have a policy, either written or oral, that addresses the situation or practice." For each scenario, all four correlate significantly ($p < .001$), and have high Cronbach's coefficient alphas, all between 0.76 and 0.88. Corrected item-total correlations for the four statements in each of scenarios 1 through 4 range, respectively, from .65 to .79, .55 to .74, .62 to .73, and from .31 to .75. These findings justify the use of the grand means as indices for subsequent analyses. But, more than these, the four statements reflect strict deontological standpoints.

Age had the most significant effects in three of the four scenarios. Older members tended to report that the practitioners cited in three of the four scenarios did not engage in morally questionable behaviors.

While studies indicate that older respondents tend to report that they are more ethical than younger respondents,[19] the results of this study are consistent with those of a recent study, which found that younger bank employees have a higher level of ethical consciousness than older employees.[20] Also, the longer one works for a company and the higher an employee's rank, the more likely she or he will be involved in morally questionable activities and in rationalizing unethical behaviors.[21]

In general, the longer the sample practitioners worked in full-time advertising, the less stringent they were ethically.

Because these results do not indicate the predictive power of the demographic variables, stepwise multiple-regression analysis, using PROC REG of the Statistical Analysis System,[22] was used to test the relative effects of the demographic variables (independent measures) on practitioners' responses to the scenarios, with the four-item grand means as dependent measures. In this application of PROC REG, forward selection was specified, and the criterion for inclusion in the equation was a probability of the F-to-enter value of .05. Overall, the predictive power of the independent variables was minuscule, with age being the strongest predictor.

Based on these results, summary answers to the first three research questions posed at the outset are:

- Practitioners' evaluations of the ethics scenarios used in this study indicated a less than stringent adherence to high ethical standards. All but three means in Table 2 are higher than 2.00, indicating a reluctance that punitive measures be taken against practitioners who may have engaged in ethically troublesome activities and the likelihood that the sample practitioners' behaviors may be consistent with those outlined in the scenarios. Further, these results suggest that advertising practitioners tend not to subscribe to the deontological elements of classical ethical theory.

- Demographic variables, for the most part, do not have significant effects on practitioners' responses to the four ethics scenarios, suggesting that their evaluations of the scenarios may have been influenced more by their personal values than by other factors. Older practitioners, however, tend to overlook apparent unethical behaviors.

- Practitioners' responses to the scenarios vary by type of scenario. Using Scheffé's multiple-comparison procedure, two nonsignificant differences were found between pairs of means for practitioners' responses. Five pairs of grand means for all six statements in each scenario were significantly different (all p's < .001); the grand means for scenarios 1 and 2 were not significantly different from each other.

Discussion and Conclusion

Statements 1, 2, 3 and 6 (Table 2) were phrased in precise deontological terms: "was wrong," "should be fired," "I would do just," and "regardless of my response." Deontological (or duty-based) ethics asserts that it is always wrong to steal, lie, cheat or break a promise. It is always our moral duty to tell the truth and to keep clients informed truthfully about projects conducted in their behalf. The respective percentages of respondents who "definitely" reported that the actions of the practitioners cited in the four scenarios were wrong were 60%, 56%, 64%, and 86%. However, the suggestion that the practitioner should be fired received low, definite approvals. Such low approval rates indicated that practitioners' evaluations of statement No. 1 (Table 2) were clearly at odds with the principles of deontology.

Empirical studies on ethics increasingly indicate that ethics among business people is frequently not perceived in absolutist terms of right or wrong, but in relative shades of right and wrong.[23] In fact, Fritzsche[24] and Jones[25] reported that situation ethics, which condemns rigid legalism, is the overwhelming preference of U.S. managers.

Are the patterns of responses indicated in this study strongly reflective of ethics other than deontological ethics? Do they, for example, reflect utilitarian ethics, which Rotzoll and Christians[26] noted is preferred by advertising agency personnel? Utilitarian ethics seeks to maximize the good for all concerned. However, the limitation of this ethical theory is inherent in how the "good" is determined. Beyond that, the interests of the minority tend to be given short shrift. What, therefore, are the chances that advertising-agency actions will result in the "greatest happiness for the greatest number"?

It is in response to such limitation that Rawls suggested that, to accomplish equal justice in society, everyone be placed in a hypothetical "original position"—behind a "veil of ignorance"—which requires that, in evaluating situations, people step from their everyday, status-based traditional roles into an egalitarian position behind a veil.[27] The goal is to develop a conception of justice or the good from a disinterested, "equal" perspective. Would a recommendation that practitioners caught in the ethical dilemmas identified in this study be fired be an illustration of such a justice? And would it be in an organization's or in a society's best interest?

The results presented in this study indicate a strong perceived reluctance on the part of ad agencies to institute policies, either written or oral, that would proscribe unethical conduct. The percentages of respondents whose firms or departments were perceived as having such policies on each of the four scenarios (and those who definitely thought that having such policies was a good idea) are, respectively, 36 (83), 24 (68), 21 (62) and 39 (81). The large differences between these perceptual pairs lend credence to the continuing public and practitioner concern over advertising ethics. For advertising agencies to have such policies on the books may result into two possibilities: (1) they may encourage practitioners to also apply strict deontological perspectives to ethics issues, and (2) they may help practitioners initiate an eclectic approach to ethical decision making—that is, to apply ethical principles that may involve bringing simultaneously all five classical theories to bear on a decision-making process. It is possible—as Ekelund and Saurman reported—that the reluctance of organizations to establish such written policies suggests that

This interpretation of the results of this study within the context of classical theories suggest that deontological ethics is clearly not the ethics of choice among our sample practitioners. Perhaps, given the significant differences among the scenarios, there is a preference for a mix of the utilitarian, Judeo-Christian, veil-of-ignorance, and golden-mean ethics that may have guided the evaluation of the ethics scenarios used in this study. However, while there is some indication of the reluctance of the sample practitioners to adopt deontological perspectives in practice, such a reluctance may have major implications for the continuing public and practitioner perceptions of advertising ethics as questionable and as not driven largely by the public interest.

Limitations of Study. The findings of this study should be interpreted with some caution for three reasons. First, given cost considerations, questionnaires were mailed to and received from about one-half of the states in the United States. The exclusion of the other states may pose problems in generalizing the study to the nationwide AAF-member population.

Second, because copies of the questionnaire were mailed either to a president or to an executive director of an advertising club for distribution to club members, the sample is essentially a convenience sample that may introduce a communal bias into our results, making them non-generalizable to all AAF members. Replication on a truly national random sample of practitioners is needed to determine the extent to which the results of such a study are consistent with those of the present study.

Finally, given the value-laden nature of a number of items on the questionnaire, some respondents could have provided socially desirable answers. Perceptual distortion is higher when the relevant dependent construct is as highly valued as ethics is, and decreases when it is considered trivial.[28] Self-report measures, without independent verification, are potentially subject to distortion because of lying, defensiveness, and social desirability.[29] However, because participation was voluntary and anonymous, and a second-wave mailing was not used, there is substantial reason to expect that respondents provided honest answers to the questions.

These limitations do not diminish the importance of this study, which provides base-line data for more research whose findings may validate those of this study. Such a study could identify organizational and personal reasons for the reluctance of advertising practitioners to adopt strict deontological ethics and the implications of such reluctance for the self-reported ethics of advertising practitioners.

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Table 1

A Profile of Respondents, in Percentages

Gender (N=460)	
Female	46.5%
Male	53.5
States with 21 or more respondents (N=457)	
California	21.0
Indiana	9.6
New York	8.3
Michigan	7.7
Florida	6.1
Illinois	4.8
Ohio	4.8
Texas	4.8
Colorado	4.6
Age (N=460)	
25 or younger	6.3
26-34	34.1
35-43	33.5
44-52	14.3
53-61	5.9
62 or older	5.9
Years in full-time advertising (N=457)	
0	8.8
1-10	53.8
11-20	25.8
21-30	7.0
31-40	3.3
41-50	1.3

Table 1 continues

Table 1 (continued)

Work Setting (N=458)	
Advertising agency/department	55.5%
Public relations agency/department	3.5
Non-profit organization	15.9
Company/corporation	13.1
Other	12.0
Management position (N=460)	
Top management	36.1
Upper-middle management	26.1
Lower-middle management	34.8
Non-management personnel	3.0
Number of employees supervised (N=460)	
0	28.9
1-10	57.2
11-20	8.9
21-30	2.6
31-40	1.7
41-50	0.4
51 or higher	0.2

Table 2

Responses to Statements on Ethics Scenarios

	n	% yes[a]	Mean[b]	SD
Statements on Scenario No. 1				
1. What Mary did was wrong.	447	60	2.24	1.07
2. Mary should be fired.	446	20	3.34	.834
3. I would do just what Mary did.	447	40	2.94	.984
4. Most ad execs would do just what Mary did.	448	60	2.33	.850
5. My firm/dept. has a policy, either written or oral, that addresses this situation or practice.	444	36	2.90	1.21
6. Regardless of my response to #5, it is a good idea for my firm/dept. to have a policy, either written or oral, that addresses situation or practice.	446	83	1.63	.911
Statements on Scenario No. 2				
1. What John did was wrong.	452	56	2.36	1.08
2. John should be fired.	448	17	3.43	.832
3. I would do just what John did.	447	59	2.48	1.04
4. Most ad execs would do just what John did.	449	79	2.00	.822
5. My firm/dept. has a policy, either written or oral, that addresses this situation or practice.	443	24	3.22	1.06

Table 2 continues

Table 2 (continued)

6. Regardless of my response to #5, it is a good idea for my firm/dept. to have a policy, either written or oral, that addresses situation or practice.	445	68	2.08	1.09
Statements on Scenario No. 3				
1. What Pete did was wrong.	453	64	2.13	1.13
2. Pete should be fired.	449	23	3.22	.944
3. I would do just what Pete did.	450	40	2.94	1.02
4. Most ad execs would do just what Pete did.	449	51	2.48	.837
5. My firm/dept. has a policy, either written or oral, that addresses this situation or practice.	443	21	3.33	.938
6. Regardless of my response to #5, it is a good idea for my firm/dept. to have a policy, either written or oral, that addresses situation or practice.	444	62	2.25	1.09
Statements on Scenario No. 4				
1. What Sally did was wrong.	458	86	1.52	.912
2. Sally should be fired.	448	56	2.47	1.05
3. I would do just what Sally did.	448	13	3.48	.779
4. Most ad execs would do just what Sally did.	446	32	2.77	.864

Table 2 continues

Table 2 (continued)

5. My firm/dept. has a policy, either written or oral, that addresses this situation or practice.	444	39	2.88	1.16
6. Regardless of my response to #5, it is a good idea for my firm/dept. to have a policy, either written or oral, that addresses situation or practice.	445	81	1.76	.963

[a] Percent responding "definitely yes" or "maybe yes."

[b] On a four-point scale, with 1 = "definitely yes" and 4 = "definitely no." A lower mean score indicates a stronger agreement with a statement.

Table 3

Comparison of Means, Grand Means (and Standard Deviations) for Four Scenarios on Advertising Ethics

Statement	Scenario One	Scenario Two	Scenario Three	Scenario Four
1. What X did was wrong.	2.24^{a} (1.07)	2.36^{b} (1.08)	2.13^{a} (1.13)	1.52^{c} .912)
2. X should be fired.	3.35^{a} (.834)	3.43^{b} (.832)	3.22^{c} (.944)	2.47^{d} (1.05)
3. I would do just what X did.	2.05^{a} (.984)	2.51^{b} (1.04)	2.05^{c} (1.02)	1.51^{d} (.779)
4. Most ad execs would do just what X did.	2.66^{a} (.850)	2.99^{b} (.822)	2.51^{c} (.837)	2.22^{d} (.863)
5. My firm/dept. has a policy, either written or oral, on situation or practice.	2.90^{a} (1.212)	3.22^{b} (1.06)	3.33^{c} (.938)	2.88^{a} (1.16)
6. Regardless of my answer to statement No. 5, it is a good idea for my firm/dept. to have a policy, either written or oral, on situation or practice.	1.63^{a} (.911)	2.08^{b} (1.09)	2.25^{c} (1.09)	1.76^{d} (.963)
Grand Mean	2.76^{a} (1.04)	2.76^{a} (.946)	2.89^{b} (.902)	2.65^{c} (.965)

Ns range from 438 to 446.

^{a,b,c,d} Means on the same row with different superscripts are significantly different, by Scheffé's repeated-measures design.

Note: Means are on a four-point scale, with 1 for "definitely yes" and 4 for "definitely no."

Statements 3 and 4 were reverse-coded as 1 for "definitely no" and 4 for "definitely yes." A lower mean score, therefore, indicated higher self-reported ethical standards.

Sex Roles in Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements:

An Overview of the Past 50 Years

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Sex Roles in Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements:

An Overview of the Past 50 Years

Abstract

The current investigation adopts the gender-role socialization model of affect as proposed by Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust (1986) to content analyze sex roles in frightening film newspaper advertisements. The purpose of this study is to explore sex roles of evil protagonists and victims in frightening film newspaper advertisements across a 50 year sample of horror film advertisements. The findings of a content analysis support the two hypotheses advanced. Female victims were shown significantly more often than male victims. Males were found to be displayed significantly more often than females as the evil protagonist. Implications and suggestions for future research are presented.

Sex Roles in Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements: An Overview of the Past 50 Years

Affective responses to frightening mass media have recently emerged as popular phenomena of academic study. Over 25 frightening film investigations were completed by scholars within the last decade. Both children and adult respondents have been and continue to be examined in multiple communication investigations (Oliver & Cantor, 1990). One subset of these research programs are those generated by researchers who have recently focused on adults' reactions to scary programs (Neuendorf & Sparks, 1988; Sparks & Spirek, 1988; Tamborini & Stiff, 1987; Weaver & Zillmann, 1988). A common finding in these independent research programs is that females are more likely than males to report negative media-induced reactions to horror films. In a similar vein, males typically report greater positive affective responses to horror films than females. The current study investigates these sex differences in affective responses to frightening films by exploring the social position of the sexes as displayed by the media promoting horror films. Here I argue that the sex roles portrayed in frightening media expose women and men to systematically different role expectations which encourage males to experience positive affective responses and females to experience negative affective responses to media associated with the horror genre.

The present study is a content analysis that examines sex roles in frightening film newspaper advertising from 1940 to 1990. Sex differences in affective responses and in role portrayals in newspaper advertisements are the focus of the present study. Specifically this paper's objective is to investigate the frequency with which males and females are featured as monsters or evil protagonists in horror film newspaper advertisements as well as the frequency with which males and females are featured as victims in these advertisements.

Newspaper advertisements were selected as the media channel of interest for examining sex differences for three reasons. First, newspaper cinema advertisements are among the first film images moviegoers are likely to encounter (D. Giles, personal communication, December 28, 1987). Second, newspapers continue to have a large circulation, and scholars have repeatedly demonstrated that newspapers serve as socializing agents (Jeffres, 1986; Meyrowitz, 1985). Lastly, newspaper advertising was selected since the number of academic studies that have systematically explored newspaper cinema advertisements is limited despite newspapers' salient role as a socializing agent. In fact, published investigations that have examined frightening film newspaper advertisements are extremely scarce. I strive to address this void in the communication literature in this paper.

The literature review for the current content analysis is organized into three sections. First, studies are briefly reviewed that have recorded sex differences in affective responses to frightening mass media. Second, literature that explored sex role images in frightening mass media are examined. Finally, the present content analysis is advanced in the third segment of the literature review.

Sex Differences In Affective Responses to Frightening Mass Media

The above-noted sex differences in affective responses induced by frightening media are exemplified in two empirical surveys that tested the validity of the Enjoyment of Frightening Films Scale or EFF-Scale (Sparks, 1986; Spirek, 1989). Sparks (1986) developed the 10-item scale to assess one's dislike or enjoyment of frightening films based upon the individual's past encounters with the genre. The degree of enjoyment of frightening films positively correlates with EFF-Scale scores. According to Sparks (1986), a valid measure like that of the EFF-Scale could permit researchers to test the relationship between media-induced responses to scary programs and cognitive processes. Sparks (1986) and Spirek (1989) hypothesized and found females to be less likely to have high EFF-Scale scores than males. These hypotheses were generated based on the results of a survey of adolescents conducted by Cantor and Reilly (1982). Cantor and Reilly found female respondents to be more likely than males to report negative thoughts in association with frightening media.

Differences related to sex became evident in another survey that examined frightening media-induced responses. An activation-arousal framework was the perspective Sparks (1989a) utilized to investigate media-induced intense and enduring fright. Negative long-term fright reactions (e.g. nightmares) as a result of a scary media encounter tended to be cited more often by females than by males. In a similar vein, Tamborini, Stiff and Zillmann (1987) conducted a survey in which they examined personality characteristics (i.e. sensation-seeking, machiavellianism, and androgyny) in relationship to the sex of a horror film victim. Upon the study's completion, the investigators found that as a whole, personality characteristics were not very successful predictors for determining one's preference to see a horror film. A significant relationship was found between males' enjoyment of pornography and their preference for female victimization in horror films.

Sex also emerged as one of five items that were found to be important factors when Tamborini and Stiff (1987) developed a model to determine the antecedents of the exposure to and the appeal of horror films. The other predictors were: age, desire to experience the satisfying resolutions, desire to see destruction and the sensation-seeking personality traits. These indicators surfaced after audience members were surveyed upon leaving the theater after viewing Halloween II. Again, males were more likely to report enjoyment from watching horror films than were females.

One empirical study that focuses on sex differences was conducted by Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust (1986). A gender-role socialization model of affect was proposed by these researchers to explain the difference of responses to viewing graphic horror films. The model is grounded in the assumption that adolescents are taught traditional stereotypical male and female behaviors. Historically when presented with a life-threatening situation, males are trained to remain calm and show mastering skills over the incident. In contrast, females are permitted to share their fears when faced with life-threatening situations and are even encouraged to turn to the calming comfort of a male. The investigators reasoned that there is a void of life-threatening situations in the status quo for adolescents. The void is filled then with the scary situations presented in horror films.

The experiment Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust conducted to test the model utilized confederates in order to determine the effect an opposite sex companion's responses to a horror film would have on the participants (Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf & Aust, 1986). The results confirmed the predictions based on the model. Males enjoyed the horror movie the most with the company of females who became distressed while males were not as a likely to enjoy the movie with a woman who showed mastering skills. The reverse relationship emerged with female participants. Females enjoyed the horror movie the most with males who demonstrated mastering skills while females were not as likely to enjoy the movie with a male who showed distress.

A secondary analysis on two studies completed by Sparks (1989b) also supported Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust's proposed framework of gender-role socialization. The films Sparks utilized were not the same stimuli shown by Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust; nevertheless Sparks' results were predicted by the model. Sparks found males to report less distress than females after viewing a frightening film in two independent studies.

Additional support for the gender-role socialization model of affect was generated in Mundorf, Weaver and Zillmann's (1989) investigation. Personality factors played a lesser role in influencing responses to horror films relative to the participants' sex. As with earlier studies, men enjoyed horror films more, were less frightened, and were more bored by horror films than were the women. The researchers interpreted the fact that men were more bored as being consistent with the notion that they are more callous to horror films. The results were viewed as being consistent with the idea that affective responses to frightening films are determined by gender-specific rules for social conduct.

In summary, the literature review above yields support for the conclusion that men's affective responses to frightening media differ from those of women. Men report enjoying frightening cinema more than women; whereas women report greater fear from frightening cinema than do men.

Sex Role Images In Frightening Mass Media

Despite the fact that numerous horror film studies support this affective sex response distinction, little empirical investigation has scientifically and systematically explored sex role differences as portrayed in horror media. This paper proposes that horror sex role images are a contributing factor that acts as a catalyst for generating sex-specific responses to frightening media.

Frightening media not only present life-threatening scenarios (Zillmann, Mundorf, Weaver & Aust, 1986) but also reinforce "macho" male and fearful female behaviors while acting as a component in the socializing process. The reinforcement of sex-specific responses can be accomplished by presenting males as assailants and females as victims. Viewers of the mass media have been shown to identify and generally be more empathic with the same sex figures on the screen (Liebert & Sprafkin, 1988; Mayo & Henley, 1981; Wober, Reardon, & Fazal, 1987; see also a discussion by Sparks, 1989a). With female audience members identifying with the victims on the screen and male audience members identifying with the aggressive monsters in the horror media, it is not surprising that female viewers report negative feelings and male viewers report positive feelings.

Both Modleski and Williams adopt a theoretical framework for examining horror film characters and their association with male and female viewing experiences. Modleski (1986) adopts a post-modern theoretical perspective and Williams (1984) adopts feminist theory as a framework for addressing male and female affective responses to frightening films. Both authors conclude that male and female experiences with the scary cinema are unique because of scary cinema content.

Modleski (1986) points out that pleasure in contemporary horror films is defined in a pejorative sense which is usually represented by a victimized female. Male audience members are able to distance themselves from the terror because the frightening films involve scripts that feature the female as the victim. For example, in The Brood, an attractive young school teacher is beaten and killed by midget clones; in The Texas Chainsaw Massacre, a female teacher is pursued by a chainsaw-wielding maniac, and in Halloween, a female babysitter is terrorized by a male killer (Modleski, 1986). Modleski concludes that female viewers of the horror cinema are deprived of a pleasurable and satisfying experience because they, being female, tend to identify with the tortured female media victim.

Like Modleski, Williams (1984) observed that audience responses to the horror genre are sex-specific. Employing a feminist theoretical perspective on the phenomena, Williams writes:

> Whenever the movie screen holds a particularly effective image of terror, little boys and grown men make it a point of honor to look, while little girls and grown women cover their eyes or hide behind the shoulders of their dates. There are excellent reasons for this refusal of the women to look, not the least of which is that she is often asked to bear witness to her own powerlessness in the face of rape, mutilation and murder. (p. 83)

In addition, Williams notes that women do not watch scary movies "like men" because they have difficulty in identifying with anything in the content. Perhaps, then, it is not surprising that Williams claims women are not only being victimized on the screen, but female audience members are victimized in the movie theater as well. In other words, women characters are attacked by the monster on the screen while women viewers are not given the same opportunity as men to enjoy watching a frightening film.

Two observations can be drawn from the first and second sections of this literature review. First, independent studies repeatedly demonstrate that adult males are more likely than females to experience a positive emotional response to horror films. Females are more likely than males to experience a negative response. A second observation is that scholars acknowledge that horror sex role portrayals may play a role in encouraging sex-specific responses from the audience. Horror media sex roles are examined in the present content analysis.

The Present Study

The Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust (1986), the Mundorf, Weaver and Zillmann (1989) and Sparks (1989b) studies reviewed earlier found the gender-role socialization model of affect to be fruitful for guiding research, and the present study will draw from this theoretical framework as well. Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust stated that horror films provide life-threatening scenarios to which males are socialized to act calm, cool and collected and females are encouraged to show distress. The current study proposes that the frightening media acts as an agent in the socializing process while providing life-threatening situations that reinforce and evoke sex-specific affective responses.

If the evil protagonist tends to be male and the victim female in horror media, it appears plausible that sex-specific responses would be elicited from the frightening media audience (i.e. males as mastering and females as dependent or weak). Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust (1986) are correct when they write that life-threatening scenarios are provided in horror media, but this paper takes this notion one step further. These life-threatening situations expose women and men to systematically different role expectations not only in horror movies but also in horror cinema newspaper advertisements. The life that is threatened in horror films and newspaper advertisements is typically female and the victimizer is typically male. Therefore a content analysis of frightening film newspaper advertisements may lend additional insight and support to Zillmann, Mundorf, Weaver and Aust's gender-role socialization model of affect by applying the model to a mass medium that has not yet been examined.

Based on the foregoing literature review, two hypotheses are advanced with this study. A content analysis of newspaper frightening film advertising is conducted in order to examine sex role portrayals.

H1: Males are more likely than females to be portrayed as the evil protagonist in frightening film newspaper advertisements.

H2: Females are more likely than males to be portrayed as the victim in frightening film newspaper advertisements.

Method

Sample

The Chicago Tribune was sampled because of its consistently large circulation as a major metropolitan newspaper. A total of 50 years comprised the sample time span with the parameters set at 1941-1990. Each year was represented by six newspaper issues that Stempel (1952) found to be an adequate sample size when examining newspaper content. The day and month of each newspaper issue selection was generated by drawing a pair of numbers, the first number ranged from 1 to 31 and the second number ranged from 1 to 12. Eight pairs of numbers were randomly pulled with replacement. A total of 16 numbers (8 "days" and 8 "months") were drawn to represent each year where six pairs were actually included in the sample. The additional pair of dates were used in case a number combination pulled did not exist (e.g. February 31, 1987).

The final sample was comprised of a total of 300 daily issues of the Chicago Tribune. A total of 482 frightening film advertisements were found within the designated issues (list available from the author upon request).

Coding

Two of the three coders were blind to the purpose of this study. When coder reliability reached .96, the three trained coders independently coded the newspaper issues. Coders were instructed to code frightening display movie advertisements as those "paid pictorial or large typeset display newspaper movie advertisements where the predominant intended audience reaction to the film would appear to be fright." When the coder questioned whether or not an ad was of the horror genre, the coder was instructed to not include the ad in the category of scary films. Similarly, the three coders were instructed to not include thrill or adventure movies (e.g. The Big Easy, Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom) as being a part of the frightening genre. Movie photographs that were not paid advertisements were not coded. This last distinction was made because the Chicago Tribune sporadically ran publicity photographs of movies available in the Chicago area when newspaper space permitted. Similarly, a review column of Chicago movies ran with publicity photographs as a service to the paper's readers in the 1950s and 1960s. The distinguishing characteristic of this exclusion was that these reviews were not paid advertisements. Upon completion of the coding, the year 1964 was randomly selected and coding for that year was subjected to intercoder reliability. The results indicated agreement of .88.

Results

Chi-square analyses were conducted on the data. The number and sex of the victims and evil protagonists found within the frightening film newspaper advertisements were examined across the 50 years and within each of the five decades.

Frequency of the Evil Protagonist Displayed in Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements by Sex

In analyzing the evil protagonists' sex from 1941 to 1990, a statistically significant relationship was found ($X^2 = 41.28$, 1 df, $p < .0001$). Males were more likely than females to be portrayed as evil protagonists in the newspaper advertisements. Table 1 shows the decades which comprise this total.

Insert Table 1 about here

Frequency of the Victim Displayed in Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements by Sex

Statistically significant results emerged with the examination of the victims' sex as well. Females were more likely than males to be shown as a victim in a frightening film newspaper advertisement across the 50 year time span ($X^2 = 7.71$, 1 df, $p < .005$). Table 2 shows the decades which comprise this total.

Insert Table 2 about here

Discussion

This investigation's findings were consistent with Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust's gender-role socialization model of affect. Both of the proposed hypotheses were supported.

The sex of the evil force or monster in frightening film newspaper advertisements across the last 50 years was more likely to be male as opposed to female. The statistically significant findings lend support to the notion that frightening film newspaper advertisements not only highlight life-threatening situations but that frightening media may convey sex-specific rules for social conduct. It is possible that males find it easier to display mastering behaviors with an opposite-sex companion at a horror movie when the movie is chosen based on newspaper advertisements where the powerful evil protagonist is male and not female.

Females, on the other hand, were portrayed in newspaper advertisements across the 50 year time span more frequently than males as victims. This finding is also consistent with the sex-role socialization model of affect because it is "O.K." for women to be fearful according to "society's rules" (Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf & Aust, 1986).

In interpreting the data, the author cautions that the sample was limited to one newspaper, the Chicago Tribune. Nevertheless this study's findings support the notion that frightening film advertising content tends to be sex-specific which converges with the literature reviewed earlier that demonstrated that affective responses to frightening media tend to also be sex-specific. Frightening media content then could be a contributing factor to the sex-specific affective responses researchers have consistently found across studies and varied methodologies.

Overall, the exploration of sex and frightening media appears promising. As Eagly (1987) argues, the mass media is a significant factor that contributes to society's creation of sex-specific roles. Along with experiments and surveys, additional frightening media content analyses are needed to achieve convergent evidence for a more complete understanding that will allow for the explanation and prediction of human affective responses to the scary media. For example, a content analysis of television horror programs that are currently a popular form of entertainment (Lieberman, 1990) or a close examination of the frightening film movie theatre previews could be conducted. Additional mass media studies of program content and affective responses could lead to a greater understanding of human emotions in general.

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Table 1

Frequency of the Evil Protagonist's Sex In

Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements

Years	Male	Female	Chi-Square	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1941-1950	16	5	5.76	1	.016
1951-1960	31	3	23.06	1	.000
1961-1970	31	11	9.52	1	.002
1971-1980	20	9	4.17	1	.041
1981-1990	10	4	2.57	1	.109
	----	----			
Total					
1941-1990	108	32	41.26	1	.0001

Table 2

Frequency of the Victim's Sex In Frightening Film Newspaper Advertisements

Years	Male	Female	Chi-Square	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1941-1950	1	2	.33	1	.564
1951-1960	4	6	.40	1	.527
1961-1970	0	8			
1971-1980	1	7	4.50	1	.034
1981-1990	6	7	.08	1	.782
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Total					
1941-1990	12	30	7.71	1	.005

Note. A chi-square test was not computed for the decade of 1961-1970 because the male cell frequency was 0.

Is Seeing Believing Where Silver and Silicon Meet? A Matter of Credibility in Advertising and News Photography Contexts

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ABSTRACT

This study explores whether persons in different socioeconomic groups believe equally in what they see when looking at photographs in the media, particularly advertising photos. Although survey results are largely inconclusive, some patterns emerged worthy of further investigation. Findings suggest that photographs in advertising contexts tend to earn lower credibility values than similar photos used in other contexts and imply that this study might be a model for developing a more conclusive test instrument.

INTRODUCTION

Do persons in different socioeconomic groups believe what they see when they look at photographs in the media? Are there varying levels of belief that photographs are routinely retouched or otherwise manipulated, depending on the context of use? The credibility of all photography is called into question by researchers and authors in the popular press resulting from recent computer technologies permitting easy, radical retouching of photographs. How widespread is the claim that all photographs in advertising are retouched? Is the market aware of it and do persons suspend that lack of credibility when a photo comes in a different context: ie news, feature and/or magazine cover?

First, regarding photo context/credibility, does the context in which a photo appear (whether in an advertisement, accompanying a news story in a newspaper, on the cover of a news magazine or accompanying a feature story in a newspaper special section) affect the integrity of the photo? For example, by the very act of appearing in an ad, does the photo lose credibility or, on the other hand, by appearing as part of a news story in a credible newspaper, does the same photo gain credibility? Will persons believe that it was retouched or not by considering its context?

Second, regarding socioeconomic background, are there measurable differences of belief in the integrity of photos due only, or mainly, to socioeconomic differences? As a broad category, socioeconomic difference is considered rather than the more narrow income or educational level as each is co-dependent — low income tends to discourage high education and low education generally keeps income level down.

It is anticipated that low-income, lower-educated persons will have little credibility in photos regardless of context due to general distrust of the media and lack of exposure to it. They are not regular consumers of news media, with the exception of television, and they are high consumers of supermarket tabloids, where radical retouching is routine. This, it is believed, will create low credibility for the mainstream press as well. Therefore, our first key research concern: Hypothesis 1: Low socioeconomic status will yield low credibility indices for all contexts.

It is anticipated that high-income, more educated persons will have low credibility levels across the contexts to some degree because they are high consumers of news media and likely are aware of the capabilities of media to alter images as the result of recent press about the new technologies. They also tend to be highly distrustful of the media as being a tool of the liberal left. Thus, Hypothesis 2: High socioeconomic status will yield low credibility indices for all contexts.

Among middle-income, college-educated persons, however, higher indices are expected across the board, with the exception of advertising. It is believed that this group generally trusts the media and, although they may be somewhat aware of photo imaging capabilities, their trust will override their doubt in most cases. It is expected that advertising photographs will have very low credibility scores across all groups. Thus, Hypothesis 3: Middle socioeconomic status will yield varying credibility indices dependent upon context: ads low, news photos high, feature photos high, and magazine covers medium.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As all areas of mass communication (including advertising and photography) will be transformed, thanks to technological innovation in theory and practice (Hsia, 1988), new digital imaging technologies hold great promise for the media in providing more control, instant access and lower costs. Even the consumer is expected to find big change in the photographic industry because of current revolutionary technological advancement -- "a new world where silver and silicon meet (Spina, 1992)." Other studies have looked at ethical dilemmas posed by the new technology to the news industry (Reaves, 1989, 1991;

Terry and Lasorsa, 1989). This study examines the credibility of photography called into question by researchers and authors in the popular press as the result of advances permitting easy, radical retouching.

The popular press is the general public's primary source of information on the possibility of photographic manipulation. Several recent articles have argued that radical photographic retouching is possible and being practiced by various organizations (Davis, 1990; "Beijing," 1986; "Bye-Bye," 1988; "When Seeing"). Retouching of photographs has long been a common practice among ad agency art directors, and those in the business are well aware of it. The use of this equipment is becoming so frequent and common in advertising that it is hard to find a photograph in a print ad that has not been manipulated or retouched (Lapin, 1987). And literate photographers, journalists and computer users cannot have missed the deluge of articles on the topic in the trade press (Antoniak, 1989, 1990; Garneau, 1986; Guercio, 1989; Guglielmo, 1989; Hall, 1988; Kaprow, 1990; Kramer, 1989; Lapin, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990).

One study did attempt to measure awareness of the technologies by commercial and freelance photographers, photojournalists and editorial personnel (Terry, 1991). And Reaves (1991) measured attitudes of editors toward varying degrees of manipulations using the tools. What did not turn up was research into whether the public was aware of the reports or whether photo credibility had deteriorated (or existed, for that matter). In fact, the underlying premise in many reports started with the assumption that photos do not lie, though in advertising it is generally assumed that consumers "know" they are enhanced to throw the best light on a subject. But even that is an assumption. No empirical study was found that directly addressed the issue of photo credibility in the public's perception, in advertising or elsewhere. So, credibility itself was investigated to possibly shed light on public perceptions on a broader level.

Credibility is an issue that has generated considerable study across social sciences. Kelly suggests in attribution theory that a message lacking in credibility will be discounted and will not be very persuasive (Gottlieb, 1991). One source developed a method of measuring credibility of news media using 12 factors (Gaziano, 1986). Although the survey was designed to compare TV with newspaper credibility levels, and is not directly related to the problem of this study, the factors attributed to contributing to credibility are useful as a model in the development of the survey instrument.

"Media impose their own organizational, institutional and ideological logic on information...(Shoemaker, 1990)." At the heart of the issue under study is the relationship of the context to the image itself. Hypotheses to be tested are projected from assumptions drawn from schema theory. "The early interest in one-sided vs. two-sided messages (Hovland, 1949) directed attention to the psychological effects of a stimulus, not its mass mediated context (Shoemaker, 1990)" but, "according to schema theory, an individual's knowledge of the world can be described as a complex set of schemata for interpreting perception and for initiating action (Ritchie, 1991)." The photo schema is a part of the "media" schema or contextural schema in which it is presented — thereby affecting perception and attitudes about the photo itself — in this case, its credibility.

Numerous studies have investigated the effect of a contextural framework on advertising (Aaker, 1972; Cannon, 1982; Crane, 1964; Soldow, 1981). Media selection is potentially an important factor regarding ad effectiveness, as Cannon supports his claim with reference to 11 other sources. Aaker looked at the effect of magazine vehicles on two opposing creative executions — expert vs. prestige type magazines with reason-why copy and image copy approaches, considering believability, credibility and informativeness. Culbertson (1969) studied illustration in the context of textural material with mixed results, but generally concluded that pictures could have an influence on the perception readers held of associated copy (Peterson, 1991).

There seems to be little doubt that, at least as far as advertising and media are concerned, context plays a role in providing credibility. If that is acceptable as a basis for drawing a hypothetical assumption that credibility of photos is also related to its context, then examining the credibility of media use (whether advertising or editorial) should provide further enlightenment.

One working assumption of this study is that the credibility of the photo will be dependent upon the credibility of the source paralleling other studies on source credibility. In advertising research, Gottlieb and Sarel examined whether source credibility enhances the persuasive impact of comparative advertising. Attribution theory provided the framework for the experiment reported in the paper. Experimental results suggest that, when higher involvement is activated and a source of higher credibility is included in the advertisements, comparative advertising for a new brand has a more positive effect on purchase intentions than non-comparative advertising.

So what is the credibility of the source with regard to a photograph? Photographers are the source, but in advertising and in much newspaper and magazine contexts they are generally considered anonymous, certainly more so than bylined columnists, even if they are given photo credits. More often than not, they are not personally credited.

As far as the reader is concerned, the source must be media. Because this study looks at print media, the use to which the photo is put within media -- whether advertising, straight news or illustrative in nature -- can be considered the source context from which the photo is evaluated.

There has been substantial study of consumer attitudes toward advertising and, contrary to popular opinion, it often is positive (Aaker, 1981; Barnes, 1982; Lawson, 1985; Schlinger, 1979). In one study, only 6% of respondents were highly critical of advertising. Approval ratings for advertising by another researcher showed a marked decline since the 1960s but still stood at 77% in 1980 (Barnes, 1982). "Viewer reaction was generally positive" to commercials on prime-time television according to another study (Aaker, 1981). Nonetheless, "every Tom, Dick and Harry knows that advertising deceives the consumer, raises prices, distorts markets and promotes monopoly" but "large scale and impartial government research, both in the U.S. and in the U.K., is discovering that advertising plays a much more convincing role as a consumer friend than a manipulator or enemy (Waterson, 1984)," but his analysis of compiled research, which shows negative perceptions of advertising to be largely unfounded, did not directly measure perceptions regarding advertising, merely whether the perceptions held had justifiable grounds for support. And perception is reality as evidenced by French President Francois Mitterand's campaign manager who wrote a book entitled *"Don't Tell my Mother I'm in Advertising—She Thinks I'm a Pianist in a Brothel."*

What is more relevant to the credibility issue is negative attitudes held about advertising. "The most frequently mentioned reason for disapproving advertising was that it was misleading (Barnes)." In the same study, well over half of respondents disagreed with the statement, "Advertising presents a true picture of the product advertised." A massive study conducted by Schlinger revealed that fairly high percentages of persons involved in the multi-year study reported alienation from advertisements shown — the most cited turnoffs were exaggerations and unconvincing, unbelievable claims.

Interestingly, "the false impression created in general by the use of literal truth or by misleading illustrations was the most significant cause of complaint, whilst the second lowest complaint category related to puffery (Lawson)." This might provide insight into why some retouching of photos seems acceptable in the context of an ad—much retouching may merely be accepted as visual puffery. Only when it crosses that line and becomes misleading may it become offensive to consumers. There may be less tolerance for the same behavior on the part of the news media.

"The public as represented by complaintants to the National News Council has a sense of news as a fixed, finite and findable body of facts. Because this view is not shared by the media, there are several areas of divergence between public expectations and media codes of ethics (Braman, 1988)." Closely related to credibility is reliability of news. Although TV is not the subject of this study, it is rated the highest of the four main media sources of news for reliability at 68% of respondents in an ASNE study, compared to newspapers at 19%, radio at 4% and magazines at 9% (MORI, 1985). The comparison of magazines and newspapers however stops there, though the study does provide data on overall credibility ratings of TV and newspapers. Newspapers edge out TV in high credibility ratings with 32% and 30%, respectively. The document includes a model questionnaire useful for developing the survey instrument for this study.

Final factors worthy of concern are perceptions and attitudes of varying groups of persons with regard to credibility. Although no research was located directly addressing the image issue, parallels might be drawn for developing logical hypotheses from existing studies. "The 'less well informed and suspicious' group stood out in both a survey and in focus groups as one with serious credibility problems with the media. These people have less education and lower incomes. People in the youngest and oldest age groups, women and widowed people are more likely to fall within this group. The 'less well informed and suspicious' were less likely than others to give their daily newspapers high marks for reliability and quality of reporting (MORI)."

"Another group that gave low credibility ratings for newspapers are the 'sophisticated skeptics' who are at the opposite end of the socioeconomic spectrum from the 'less well informed and suspicious.' These people are skeptical of the media because of what they know, not because of what they don't know. They are distinguished mainly by their high education levels. They also tend to have high incomes and to include above-average numbers of Conservatives and Republicans (MORI)."

Other findings that may have relevance come from psychological studies of cognition. Horn (1967) proposed that cognitive test performance differences are based upon two overlapping categories of abilities—crystallized (accumulated knowledge) and fluid (inherent). Crystallized measures have been shown to increase with age. Fluid measures tend to decrease with age. Unfortunately, the General Aptitude Test Battery was used to measure cognitive abilities, and there is no visual component in the test instrument. But, drawing again from schema theory, it can be postulated that visual processing also "draws from the reader's library of mental image structures to the task of perception and recognition" to create understanding and draw interpretations from the presented stimulus (Peterson).

The literature search included perceptual models and studies to better understand how to develop a survey that would not be methodologically flawed or to repeat work already reported. Nothing was found directly addressing photo credibility. Useful information was found regarding image preparation and selection, avoiding bias and introducing confounds. It was discovered that "exposure to images with color or complex elements result in different viewer responses than black-and-white or simple images (Gilbert, 1990)." Color serves to speed up object recognition, and we rely on color heavily as a clue to identification over other perceptual features such as shape or tonality (Williams, 1966). Thus, all photographs, including newspaper context, were presented in color. Variations in image complexity were neutralized by using the same images across contextural presentations.

RESEARCH DESIGN

To eliminate the possibility that respondents would react to photo content rather than the context in which photos appeared, an experimental approach was employed in presenting them within the survey. Different respondents would be exposed to one of four surveys prepared. The questions and format of all four survey instruments were identical; however, each of the four variations of the survey had a different set of images in context. The same four images appeared in each survey, but different respondents were exposed to the photos in one of four sets of contexts. To avoid a possible confound due to the impact of black-and-white images (considered harder for viewers to interpret and process) as opposed to color images, all images were full color.

Photos were chosen from the primary researcher's files deemed appropriate to the four contexts in which they would be shown: a newspaper front page, a newspaper feature page, a news magazine cover, and an advertisement for an appropriate product based on the content of each photo. Photos chosen were not previously published so no respondent could be influenced by prior exposure to the images. A newspaper banner was created so that no bias to a particular city or newspaper could be inferred. Headlines were created for each of the four photos to explain each image in a logical context. Articles, however, were presented in greeked form so that no copy content would detract respondents from processing the image itself, inferring additional information from the copy to interpret or judging the image. *Newsweek* was chosen for the four magazine covers because it has a news focus and reasonable credibility relative to other consumer magazines. Another factor, however, is that *Newsweek* has recently been known to modify images to a small degree, although it is not known whether consumers are yet aware of this title's practice. Each of the four ads, by necessity, needed to make a logical connection between each of the four selected photos and a product. Headlines were created for each photo and an appropriate product logo was featured in each presentation. The same basic design format and a rational creative approach was used for all ads. Body copy was greeked.

The photos were scanned into a microcomputer with digital imaging capabilities, and modifications and cropping were done with Adobe Photoshop 2.0®. Newspaper pages, the magazine covers and the ads were produced using Quark Express 3.0®, a program used often by media for page production using typefaces and design styles appropriate for each context. Photos were then imported into page layouts and output as first generation originals through a Canon® color printer. Color output pages were then collated with the duplicated survey.

To neutralize the effect of the credibility of the images themselves, some photos in each context were altered in form from how they were originally taken and processed by the lab. Modified images were held constant across contexts. For example, one photo shown was a composite of two separate photos taken at the same event, combining a policeman guarding and directing traffic around a VIP's limo and a pair of news photographers on a distant platform with high-powered lenses (Figure 1). In all four contexts, this same composite was shown. Another photo combined a dynamic sky from one image with a stock photo of a nuclear power station cooling tower (Figure 2). A third photo was of the Discovery space shuttle on the launch pad (Figure 3). A fourth was of an archaeologist repairing a crack at an undeterminable archaeological site (Figure 4). The third and fourth photos were presented in unmodified fashion. By this means, two of the four images shown deserved to be untrustworthy and not credible; the other two deserved credibility regardless of the contexts in which they were seen by respondents.

The instrument was presented as a "photography" survey to avoid bias by suggesting that advertising photography was in some way a special variable under investigation. It included items on demographics and media usage habits (to help determine socioeconomic status), image/credibility (including semantic differential-type paired adjectives or phrases, appropriate to photo images, modeled after the ASNE credibility survey).

Sample questionnaires were presented to persons closely representing the three broad socioeconomic classes at a university in the Southwestern U.S. in November, 1991. A short post-survey interview was conducted to assess reaction and problems with the survey. As the result of the pretest and interview, some instructions were simplified and questions were added.

In November, 1991, 103 usable surveys were obtained from eight diverse neighborhood locations within a major Southwestern U.S. city, assuring a broad spectrum of socioeconomic groups in the sample. Measures to maximize randomness were employed.

Magazine usage data, including open-ended responses, were collapsed in coding into a series of general categories, partially determined from SRDS descriptions. High values represented low credibility scores (high likelihood of retouching) across all scalar measures to better recognize patterns in analysis, so the coding sheet was prepared to code all scalar measures within this framework.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data were entered into both SYSTAT 5.1 and Statview 512+ for statistical analysis after coding. Frequency counts and percentages were made of all variables as a check of correct data entry and for analysis. Means and standard deviations were calculated for a sample of interval data. Paired t-tests were run between some interval variables. Between group t-tests were calculated on five variable pairs. Crosstabs with Chi-square statistics were run on some categorical variables. A simple correlation was run followed by an ANOVA series to attempt hypothesis-testing.

Socioeconomic questions posed measured responses to questions on age, family income, highest educational level achieved, ethnicity, and political association. Ninety-eight responded to the income question and frequency distribution assumed an almost normal bell curve with a slight swell in the $12,000-19,000 and $30,000-45,000 groups.

It is clear that there was an abnormal distribution with a swell in the college-age category (34.65%), with another 24.75% "thirtysomething." Surveys were administered in a metro area with a naturally large population of college/university students, despite prospect contact in non-campus areas.

If age distribution is skewed by the presence of college students, not unexpectedly, a high percentage of persons (35.29%) identified themselves as having had some college, with 26.47% and 22.55% college graduates and high school graduates, respectively.

As for ethnicity, more of the sample (61.77%) were Caucasian while 22.55% were Hispanic.

Another variable chosen as an indicator of socioeconomic status is political association. Over 46% reported being either Republican or Conservative (very or moderately), while 35.15% reported Liberal or Democratic leanings and over 14% independent.

Although political association is not a definitive indicator of socioeconomic status, it was included as an SES factor under the general assumption that, as income rises, the likelihood of more political conservatism would be expected. To test the validity of this assumption on this sample, a crosstab with Chi-square analysis was run on income and political affiliation, both categorical variables. Results confirmed that income is an indicator of political affiliation. Conservatives did tend to have a higher likelihood of higher incomes than Liberals, generally. Following are frequencies (Table 1) and results of Chi-square calculations (Table 2).

TABLE 1 — FREQUENCY TABLE OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION vs. INCOME
(n=89)

Observed Frequency Table

	under 12,0...	from 12-19	from 20-30	from 30-45	from 46-60	over 60000	Totals
very conserv	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
conserv repub	1	2	4	2	2	5	16
mod repub	2	4	2	3	7	3	21
mod democ	4	1	5	5	1	2	18
lib democ	0	1	1	6	0	1	9
very liber	0	1	0	2	1	0	4
indep	2	4	3	2	1	1	13
apolitical	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
other	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
Totals:	9	17	15	21	15	12	89

TABLE 2 — CHI SQUARE ANALYSIS— POLITICAL ASSOCIATION vs. INCOME
(n=89)

Coded Chi-Square X_1 : income Y_1 : political affil

Summary Statistics

DF:	40	
Total Chi-Square:	50.357	p=.1263
G Statistic:	●	
Contingency Coefficient:	.601	
Cramer's V:	.336	

Means and standard deviations were calculated for 14 credibility measures for each photograph in each media context. To see if there were significant variances in responses irrespective of socioeconomic factors, paired t-tests were run on a few of the credibility measures to determine whether respondents believed the photos were altered or retouched more in one media context than another. There were strong differences in responses to the photo-altered question between the newspaper context and the ad context as shown in Table 3, as expected.

TABLE 3 — PAIRED t-TEST— AD PHOTO ALTERED vs. NEWPAPER PHOTO ALTERED (n=97)

Paired t-Test X_2: ad alter/un Y_2: news alterd/un

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
96	.557	3.199	.0009

Note: 6 cases deleted with missing values.

Results were not clear, however, from t-test comparisons in questions directly asking whether the photos were retouched across both contexts (newspaper vs. advertisement), as significance could not be demonstrated by the data (Table 4).

TABLE 4 — PAIRED t-TEST— AD PHOTO RETOUCHED vs. NEWPAPER PHOTO RETOUCHED (n=94)

Paired t-Test X_1 : ad retouch/un Y_1 : news retouched/unr

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
93	.213	1.254	.1065

Note: 9 cases deleted with missing values.

A paired t-test on the differences between the means of the responses to whether respondents thought the photo had been altered in magazines or in the ad did show a negative t-value at a reasonably significant level (Table 5).

TABLE 5 — PAIRED t-TEST— AD PHOTO ALTERED vs. MAGAZINE PHOTO ALTERED (n=99)

Paired t-Test X_2: mag alter/un Y_2: ad alter/un

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
98	-.525	-3.229	.0009

Note: 4 cases deleted with missing values.

A paired t-test on the differences between the means of the responses to whether respondents thought the photo had been more likely retouched in magazines or in ad contexts was inconclusive (Table 6).

TABLE 6 — PAIRED t-TEST— AD PHOTO RETOUCHED vs. MAGAZINE PHOTO RETOUCHED (n=99)

Paired t-Test X_1 : ad retouch/un Y_1 : mag retouch/un

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
95	.26	1.553	.0619

Note: 7 cases deleted with missing values.

One possible explanation for the inconclusive differences in questions trying to determine whether respondents believed that the photos were retouched may be that *retouching* may not be a familiar enough term to the general public, whereas *altering* a photo is more widely understood.

When means were calculated for all 14 "credibility" scalar measures for each of the four context categories and those means in turn were used for one sample t-test analysis, advertising had the highest gross means for "low credibility" encompassing all 14 credibility measures (3.369, n=93, p=.0001)(Table 7).

TABLE 7 — ONE SAMPLE t-TEST— AD PHOTO CREDIBILITY (n=93)
(CALCULATED FROM MEANS OF ALL 14 CREDIBILITY MEASURES)

One Sample t-Test X_4: ad cred mean

DF:	Sample Mean:	Pop. Mean:	t Value:	Prob. (1-tail):
92	3.369	3	4.753	.0001

Note: 10 cases deleted with missing values.

Aggregate means for the other three media contexts did not show enough significance from which to draw conclusions. When a t-test was run pairing aggregate magazine photo credibility means and advertising photo credibility means, significant differences were found (p=.0001) as shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8 — PAIRED t-TEST— PHOTO IN MAGAZINE CREDIBILITY VS. PHOTO IN AD CREDIBILITY (N=91)
(CALCULATED FROM MEANS OF ALL 14 CREDIBILITY MEASURES IN BOTH CONTEXTS)

Paired t-Test X_2: mag cred mean Y_2: ad cred mean

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
90	-.443	-3.902	.0001

Note: 12 cases deleted with missing values.

When a t-test was run pairing collective newspaper photo credibility factor means and advertising photo credibility factor means, significant differences were found (p=.0004) between the means of the contexts as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9 — PAIRED t-TEST— PHOTO IN NEWSPAPER CREDIBILITY VS. PHOTO IN AD CREDIBILITY (N=81)
(CALCULATED FROM MEANS OF ALL 14 CREDIBILITY MEASURES IN BOTH CONTEXTS)

Paired t-Test X_1 : news cred means Y_1 : ad cred mean

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
80	-.398	-3.438	.0004

Note: 22 cases deleted with missing values.

Similarly, a paired t-test between aggregate newspaper feature photo credibility means and advertising photo credibility means also resulted in a significant difference in the means (Table 10).

TABLE 10 — PAIRED t-TEST— PHOTO IN NEWSPAPER FEATURE SECTION CREDIBILITY VS. PHOTO IN AD CREDIBILITY (N=89)
(CALCULATED FROM MEANS OF ALL 14 CREDIBILITY MEASURES IN BOTH CONTEXTS)

Paired t-Test X_1 : feat cred mean Y_2: ad cred mean

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (1-tail):
88	-.509	-4.856	.0001

Note: 14 cases deleted with missing values.

No other significant differences were found between the aggregate means of the 14 credibility factors between contexts.

Variable "political affilliation" was recoded into Conservative/Republican and Liberal/Democrat groupings and between group t-tests were run against all scalar credibility factors individually and the aggregate credibility values for each media context. In most cases, no strong significant relationships were found between answers given by Conservatives compared to Liberals with few notable exceptions. Conservatives and Republicans did tend to consider the feature photo as having been "improved" more than did their more Liberal and Democratic corespondents. Results of the t-test are shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11— BETWEEN GROUPS t-TEST— CONSERVATIVES/LIBERALS FEATURE PHOTO "IMPROVED" (n=70)
(HIGHER VALUES REPRESENT MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN IMPROVED — RANGE 1-5)

Unpaired t-Test X_1 : Recode of political affil Y_{20}: feature impr/un

DF:	Unpaired t Value:	Prob. (1-tail):
69	1.794	.0386

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
Group 1	42	3.286	.864	.133
Group 2	29	2.862	1.125	.209

Conservatives also tended to consider the magazine context photo more likely to be retouched than did their Democratic counterparts at the .04 probability level. This must be taken with the knowledge that the difference may be affected by the confound of the magazine title. This may indicate a belief that *Newsweek* retouches photos — not that the photos they observed "in magazine context" were (Table 12).

TABLE 12 — BETWEEN GROUPS t-TEST— CONSERVATIVES/LIBERALS — MAGAZINE PHOTO "RETOUCHED" (n=71)

(HIGHER VALUES = PHOTO MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN RETOUCHED — RANGE 1-5)

Unpaired t-Test X_1 : Recode of political affil Y_{38} : mag retouch/un

DF:	Unpaired t Value:	Prob. (1-tail):
70	1.721	.0449

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
Group 1	41	3.415	1.024	.16
Group 2	31	2.935	1.34	.241

A similar pattern shows up in the measurement of magazine photo credibility. Again, Conservatives tended to have higher means (indicating less credibility assigned to the photo to which they were exposed)(see Table 13).

TABLE 13 — BETWEEN GROUPS t-TEST— CONSERVATIVES/LIBERALS — MAGAZINE PHOTO CREDIBLE?

(HIGHER VALUES REPRESENT LESS CREDIBLE — RANGE 1-5)

Unpaired t-Test X_1 : Recode of political affil Y_{40} : mag cred/not

DF:	Unpaired t Value:	Prob. (1-tail):
72	1.732	.0438

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
Group 1	42	2.738	1.326	.205
Group 2	32	2.219	1.211	.214

At the .05 significance level, Republicans were more likely to believe the photo was altered than were the more liberal group. Again, this might be a reaction to *Newsweek* as opposed to magazines in general (Table 14).

TABLE 14 — BETWEEN GROUPS t-TEST— CONSERVATIVES/LIBERALS — MAGAZINE PHOTO ALTERED? (n=73)

(HIGHER VALUES REPRESENT ALTERED — RANGE 1-5)

Unpaired t-Test X_1 : Recode of political affil Y_{42} : mag alter/un

DF:	Unpaired t Value:	Prob. (1-tail):
72	1.617	.0551

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
Group 1	42	3.167	.986	.152
Group 2	32	2.719	1.397	.247

One unexpected result provided by between group t-tests was that Liberals had less "trust" in the photo used in advertisements than did Conservatives. Calculations resulted in an unpaired t of –1.677 (*p*=.049, n=72). At a slightly higher level of significance (*p*=.174), a similar pattern appeared with the Democratic group having somewhat higher means, revealing a stronger belief the photo has in some way been altered, than the Conservatives. The unpaired t-value on this test was –.945 where n=72.

At the .178 significance level, Conservatives tended to consider the newspaper photo as more biased than did Liberal respondents (Table 15).

TABLE 15 — BETWEEN GROUPS t-TEST— CONSERVATIVES/LIBERALS — NEWSPAPER PHOTO BIAS (n=70)
(HIGHER VALUES REPRESENT MORE BIAS — RANGE 1-5)

Unpaired t-Test X_1 : Recode of political affil Y_2 : news biased

DF :	Unpaired t Value :	Prob. (1-tail) :
69	.929	.178

Group :	Count :	Mean :	Std. Dev. :	Std. Error :
Group 1	40	2.925	1.163	.184
Group 2	31	2.677	1.045	.188

There were not significant differences found when between group t-tests were run with the aggregate means of the combined 14 credibility measures.

Simple correlations were run on 8 interval variables to see whether correlations existed between answers persons gave for the retouched/not retouched and altered/not altered scalar pairs for each of the four media contexts. It would be expected that some positive correlation would exist between responses within contexts (ie. magazine photo retouched and magazine photo altered). On this test, no other correlations were expected except possibly a negative correlation betweeen newspaper responses and ad responses in both measures. As seen in Table 16, moderate positive correlations were observable within contexts between the two measures (retouched and altered) in the newspaper feature pair, the magazine pair and the ad pair. Weaker positive correlation was observable in the newspaper context. However, between newspaper measures and ad measures, only the direction of any correlation could be inferred and that so weakly to be statistically insignificant.

TABLE 16 – SIMPLE CORRELATION MATRIX FOR RETOUCHED & ALTERED SCALER RESPONSES ACROSS ALL FOUR MEDIA CONTEXTS (n=91)

Correlation Matrix for Variables: X_1 ... X_8

	news re...	news alt...	feature ...	feature ...	mag ret...	mag alte...	ad retou...	ad alter...
news ret...	1							
news alte...	.318	1						
feature r...	-.02	.158	1					
feature a...	-.038	-.016	.49	1				
mag reto...	.225	.144	.309	-.037	1			
mag alter...	.133	.221	.145	-.019	.455	1		
ad retouc...	-.055	-.077	.147	-.003	.041	.054	1	
ad alter/un	-.088	-.104	.095	.026	-.294	.124	.48	1

Note: 11 cases deleted with missing values.

A series of ANOVA analyses were generated to determine if significant variance would show up due to differences between the four versions of the survey administered.

Survey variation was the categorical variable tested against a series of interval responses. If subjects responded very differently to each of the four variations of the survey, it would be likely that ANOVA would find significant differences between the four instrument versions. A one-factor ANOVA was first run against the composite means of the 14 credibility factors on the ad photo. As data analysis shows, one significant variation was found. The Fisher PLSD and the Scheffe F–Test both showed a significant variance at the 85% confidence level between the responses to an unretouched photo of the space shuttle and a retouched composite photo of a high security scene as shown in the ads (Table 17).

TABLE 17 – ANOVA— AD PHOTO CREDIBILITY AGGREGATE MEANS ACROSS ALL FOUR SURVEY VARIATIONS (n=93)

One Factor ANOVA X_1: version Y_3: ad cred mean

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	3	3.042	1.014	1.855
Within groups	89	48.658	.547	p = .143
Total	92	51.7		

Model II estimate of between component variance = .156

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
nuke/mag	25	3.389	.617	.123
arch/mag	22	3.088	.851	.181
shutl/mag	23	3.382	.659	.137
police/mag	23	3.606	.82	.171

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
nuke/mag vs. arch/mag	.301	.314	.646	1.392
nuke/mag vs. shutl/mag	.007	.31	3.166E-4	.031
nuke/mag vs. police/mag	-.217	.31	.344	1.016
arch/mag vs. shutl/mag	-.294	.32	.594	1.335
arch/mag vs. police/mag	-.518	.32*	1.839*	2.349
shutl/mag vs. police/mag	-.224	.317	.351	1.026

* Significant at 85%

A second ANOVA test was run on aggregate credibility factor means for the photos on a newspaper front page across the four survey variations. Recall that the same photo appeared in all four contexts and each of the four photos was seen in the context of a news photo. This was an attempt to neutralize the effect of the photograph itself from biasing measurement of the context, whether as a newspaper photo, a magazine cover or an ad. Test results (Table 18) did not reveal significant variance at an 85% confidence level. Presumably, credibility aggregate scores for photos appearing on newspaper covers were not affected by variations or content in the four photos to any significant degree.

TABLE 18 – ANOVA— HARD NEWS PHOTO CREDIBILITY AGGREGATE MEANS ACROSS ALL FOUR SURVEY VARIATIONS (n=84)

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : version Y_1 : news cred means

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	3	.574	.191	.431
Within groups	80	35.511	.444	p = .7315
Total	83	36.084		

Model II estimate of between component variance = -.084

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
nuke/mag	23	3.009	.619	.129
arch/mag	19	3.128	.8	.183
shutl/mag	21	2.895	.569	.124
police/mag	21	2.963	.674	.147

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
nuke/mag vs. arch/mag	-.119	.3	.11	.574
nuke/mag vs. shutl/mag	.115	.292	.109	.571
nuke/mag vs. police/mag	.047	.292	.018	.232
arch/mag vs. shutl/mag	.233	.307	.408	1.106
arch/mag vs. police/mag	.165	.307	.205	.783

*Significant at 85%

ANOVA tests were run on the composite variable of the "newspaper feature" credibility means. Again, significant variances were found between the means in a number of cases (Table 19). For instance, significant at the 85% level was the difference in responses between the portrayal of an unretouched shuttle photo and a retouched and composited nuclear power plant. A second case shows difference in response between the unretouched shuttle shot and the composited high security photo. A third identified significant case was between responses to surveys where responses to the retouched nuclear shot is measured against responses to the unretouched archeologist photo. These results signal that variations in the credibility of the photos themselves were having *some* impact on survey results and that assumptions cannot be well supported with regard to media context effects, due to a failure of the survey to completely control for perceptual variance between the photos themselves.

Comparing results of these three ANOVA series suggests that repondents are more perceptive than anticipated, and were able to determine when certain photos had been altered when the photos appeared in contexts (ad or feature soft news) with lower credibility than hard news newspaper front page contexts.

TABLE 19 – ANOVA— SOFT NEWS (FEATURE) PHOTO CREDIBILITY AGGREGATE MEANS ACROSS ALL FOUR SURVEY VARIATIONS (n=84)

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : version Y_1 : feat cred mean

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	3	6.094	2.031	3.996
Within groups	89	45.245	.508	p = .0102
Total	92	51.339		

Model II estimate of between component variance = .508

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
nuke/mag	26	2.75	.746	.146
arch/mag	21	2.616	.687	.15
shutl/mag	23	3.289	.823	.172
police/mag	23	2.745	.564	.118

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
nuke/mag vs. arch/mag	.134	.304	.137	.642
nuke/mag vs. shutl/mag	-.539	.296*	2.323*	2.64
nuke/mag vs. police/mag	.005	.296	1.736E-4	.023
arch/mag vs. shutl/mag	-.673	.313*	3.262*	3.128
arch/mag vs. police/mag	-.13	.313	.121	.603
shutl/mag vs. police/mag	.543	.305*	2.227*	2.585

* Significant at 85%

ANOVA was also used to try to get at whether socioeconomic factors affected responses to credibility factors, in this case whether the ad photo had been retouched or not or altered or not. The two scalar variables were recoded into one for the tests. There is a visible correlation in Table 20 between income level and means to the retouching issue — as income rises, means of the retouching variables increase in size, implying that wealthier respondents were more likely to think the photo was retouched or altered. However, the .7 F value finds the observation of no statistical significance.

The same ANOVA test was applied between income means and the one question which measured perceptions into whether the ad photo was or was not retouched. Similar results were reported. In Table 21, summary statistics for the ANOVA test are presented. As in the above example, an F value of less than one indicates no significant variance found at the 85% level of significance.

TABLE 20 – ANOVA— AD PHOTO RETOUCHED OR ALTERED RESPONSES ACROSS INCOME LEVELS (n=96)

INCOME = 1.000 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS: 12 ADRETCH n of cases 12 MEAN 3.000 STANDARD DEV 0.739	INCOME = 4.000 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS: 23 ADRETCH n of cases 23 MEAN 3.304 STANDARD DEV 0.822
INCOME = 2.000 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS: 19 ADRETCH n of cases 18 MEAN 3.278 STANDARD DEV 0.895	INCOME = 5.000 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS: 15 ADRETCH n of cases 15 MEAN 3.467 STANDARD DEV 0.915
INCOME = 3.000 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS: 16 ADRETCH n of cases 16 MEAN 3.375 STANDARD DEV 0.806	INCOME = 6.000 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS: 13 ADRETCH n of cases 13 MEAN 3.615 STANDARD DEV 0.650

SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR ADRETCH

BARTLETT TEST FOR HOMOGENEITY OF GROUP VARIANCES

CHI-SQUARE = 2.861 DF= 6 PROBABILITY = 0.826

SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	*p*
BETWEEN GROUPS	2.749	6	0.458	0.699	0.651
WITHIN GROUPS	62.241	95	0.655		

TABLE 21 – ANOVA— AD PHOTO RETOUCHED RESPONSES ACROSS INCOME LEVELS (n=91)

SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR ARETOCH

BARTLETT TEST FOR HOMOGENEITY OF GROUP VARIANCES

CHI-SQUARE = 2.134 DF= 6 PROBABILITY = 0.907

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	PROBABILITY	
BETWEEN GROUPS	4.358	6	0.726		0.522	0.
WITHIN GROUPS	125.147	90	1.391			

Other ANOVA analyses were calculated to try to find social effects on credibility of photo questions, but no significant variances were found.

FINDINGS

There was an age skew in the sample population, which also could have skewed the educational level measure. Some observations tended to support the hypothesis that socioeconomic factors (income, education and political affilation) did have some impact on the way repondents judged the photos. Patterns identified did tend to agree with the direction of responses anticipated. Unfortunately, overall, the effects were so small in most cases to be insignificant, statistically. ANOVA tests supported the finding that confidence in the hypothesis was not proven with this data set. MANOVA analyses were attempted to get a direct answer to the stated hypoothesis, but a small sample size and values too small in numerous data cells were identified by the statistical programs as reasons for incomplete or aborted analyses.

ANOVA tests did identify a likely confound, that of the variation between surveys (which is, in essence, the variation between the four photos in the four contexts). Ideally, the test design was supposed to minimize the impact of the individual variations between photos (by rotating each of the four among different contexts of use and by exposing different members of the sample to those photos at random). In this way, it was hoped that impact of the context of the photo would become a strong enough influencing factor to be measured. And, although context did have some effect upon the evaluation of the photo credibility factors, as shown most clearly in the newspaper photo analysis presented, the context influence was not great enough to overcome the photos' own influence across the four contexts. So even if MANOVA or ANOVA analyses were to turn up significant variances between the means of the groupings of socioeconomic factors and retouching or other credibility factors, the confound may be strong enough to call into question any conclusions drawn.

It may also indicate our respondents were able to determine when certain photos had been altered in certain contexts (ad or feature soft news). Another finding was that there were differences in the believability of photos in some contexts. News photos did earn higher credibility ratings than did ad photos or magazine cover photos. Ad photos were the least credible of the four. The other finding of significance was that Conservatives and Lberals do have differing degrees of trust in photos in the media. Liberals tended to give higher credibility to images in the media and Conservatives tended to distrust them more.

CONCLUSIONS

Do we have more insight into how people perceive photos than we did before? Were we able to support or reject the hypotheses? These questions were not completely answered; yet, the exploratory study provided promise of more valuable research to come.

Hypothesis 1, that *Low socioeconomic status will yield low credibility indices for all contexts,* is unproved. A two-factor repeated ANOVA analysis comparing means of income with averaged means of the 14 credibility variables for all four media contexts was run and appears in Table 22. One analysis of income means relative to photo retouching/altering in an ad context alone tends to reject this hypothesis; low income respondents resulted in the highest credibility value (lowest means), but low F-test results of the analysis across both (A&B) factors was not found to be statistically significant.

By the same set of analyses, we cannot consider as reasonable the pattern in the ANOVA tables that support, in general, Hypothesis 2, that *High socioeconomic status will yield low credibility indices for all contexts*. However, this thesis is somewhat more strongly supported as Fisher PLSD tests showed significant variations between the means of this (over $60,000 income) and other groups. What is supportable to a significant degree at the 85 percentile level is the fourth less formalized hypothesis presented in the discussion at the beginning of the study — that photos in ad contexts do earn lower credibility values than the same photos in the other contexts. It is demonstrated with an F value of 11.037 at the .0001 probability level.

Hypothesis 3, that *Middle socioeconomic status will yield varying credibility indices dependent upon context: ads low, news photos high, feature photos high, and magazine covers medium* , was not supported. In some cases, the ANOVA table indicated a pattern that was opposite the hypothesis, but again without evidence of statistically aberrant variance within some reasonable probability of assurance this pattern is likely due to normal variance around actual mean scores of the population.

LIMITATIONS

Due to the nature of the stratified convenience sample used in this study, generalizability is limited to a narrow geographic focus, not necessarily a representational cross-section of the country or even the state as a whole, so SES measures were found to reflect that bias. However, due to the universal nature of the study topic, certain assumptions might be inferred. There also is an inherent limitation in the non-random method used to select respondents. In order to arrive at a large enough sample size to draw conclusions, it was necessary to apply a degree of stratified quota sampling to assure significance in each SES sample cell of specific interest. Even with such an effort, there still were some analyses (MANOVA) that required larger values in data cells than this small sample provided.

Another limitation that may have had an impact is the reproduction method employed due to financial constraints. Ideally, all photos and their contexts should be shown in final printed form on paper stock and in resolutions consistent with the form that respondents would see in actual practice. To reproduce the prepared artwork as full color press proofs would have been far costlier than the method employed and not practical for a preliminary study of this nature. It is expected that the impact of the reproduction method used in this study would affect results so that all credibility means would be lower across the board than they would be if standard press proofs were used. Because this effect is expected to reduce all credibility factors, conclusions between media contexts may still be drawn.

TABLE 22 — 2 FACTOR REPEATED ANOVA — INCOME & OVERALL CREDIBILITY MEANS ACROSS ALL FOUR MEDIA CONTEXTS (n=74)

Anova table for a 2-factor repeated measures Anova.

Source:	df:	Sum of Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:	P value:
income (A)	5	5.304	1.061	1.46	.2144
subjects w. groups	68	49.398	.726		
Repeated Measure (B)	3	16.192	5.397	11.037	.0001
AB	15	5.633	.376	.768	.7121
B x subjects w. groups	204	99.756	.489		

There were no missing cells found. 29 cases deleted with missing values.

The AB Incidence table

Repeated Mea...		news cre...	feat cred ...	mag cred ...	ad cred m...	Totals:
income	under 12,0...	11 2.844	11 2.799	11 2.818	11 3.201	44 2.916
	from 12-19	12 2.827	12 2.601	12 3.012	12 3.631	48 3.018
	from 20-30	12 3.327	12 2.774	12 2.857	12 3.381	48 3.085
	from 30-45	19 2.804	19 2.699	19 2.692	19 3.504	76 2.925
income	from 46-60	11 3.143	11 3.045	11 2.981	11 3.331	44 3.125
	over $600...	9 3.19	9 3.365	9 3.254	9 3.54	36 3.337
Totals:		74 2.996	74 2.843	74 2.901	74 3.438	296 3.044

Another confound, related to the reproduction method, may have more impact however on the conclusions drawn. Two of the photos were digitally retouched and composited, while two were not. By a computer software bug at the service bureau where the photos were reproduced and partially by the nature of the content of the photos, each retouched photo did show a higher degree of posterization effects and visible banding in the broad areas of gradiant color. These digital aberrations could have influenced results. This effect may be seen in the result of ANOVA calculations between survey versions.

IMPLICATIONS

This survey has its value in the exercise. The major questions have not been answered to any great degree, although some patterns have been identified that may have significance with a different study. This research project itself may well serve as a pretest for a larger survey that would correct for some confounds and inadequacies. The conceptual design of this study may well serve as a model for evaluating contextural effects on images.

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FIGURE 1

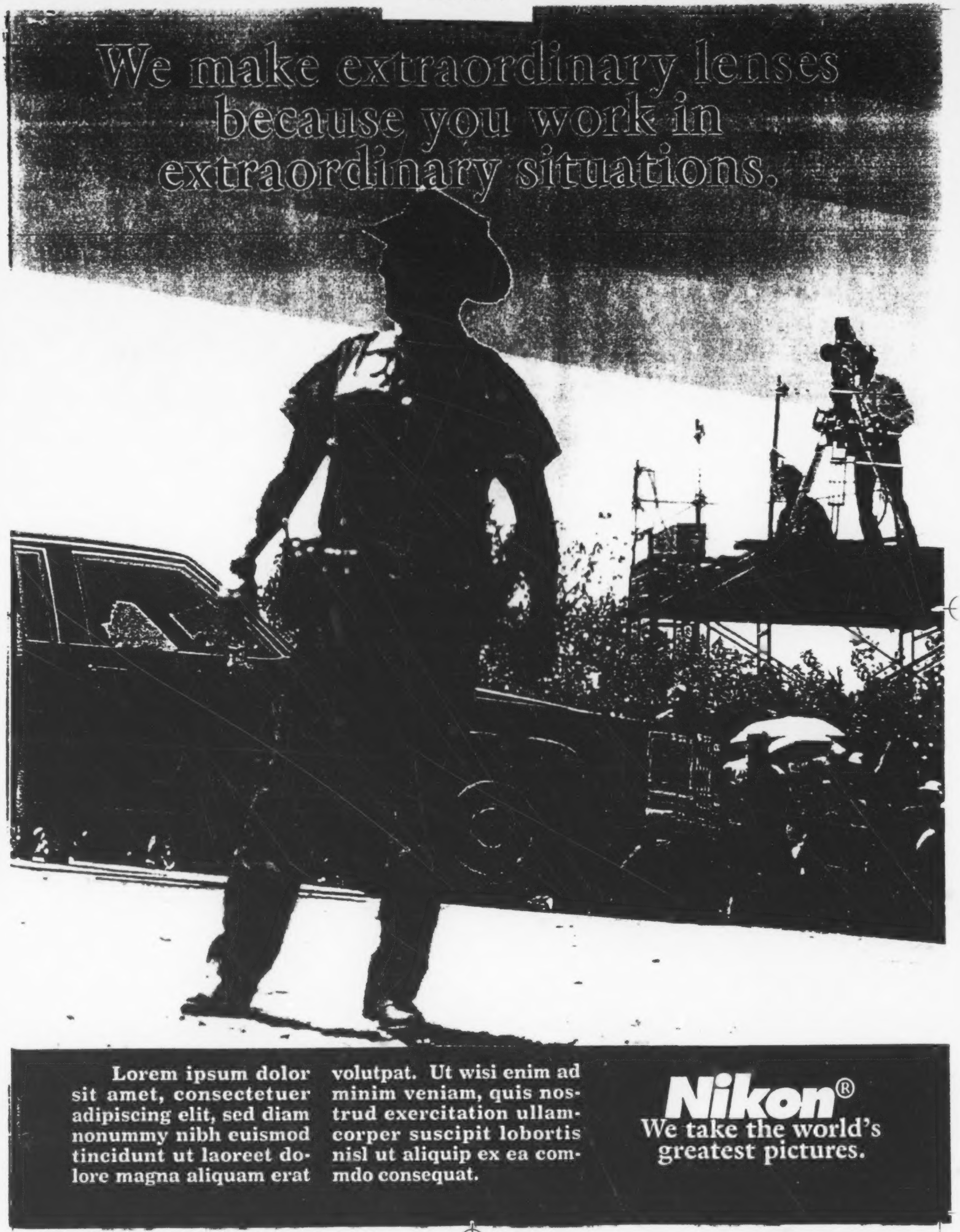
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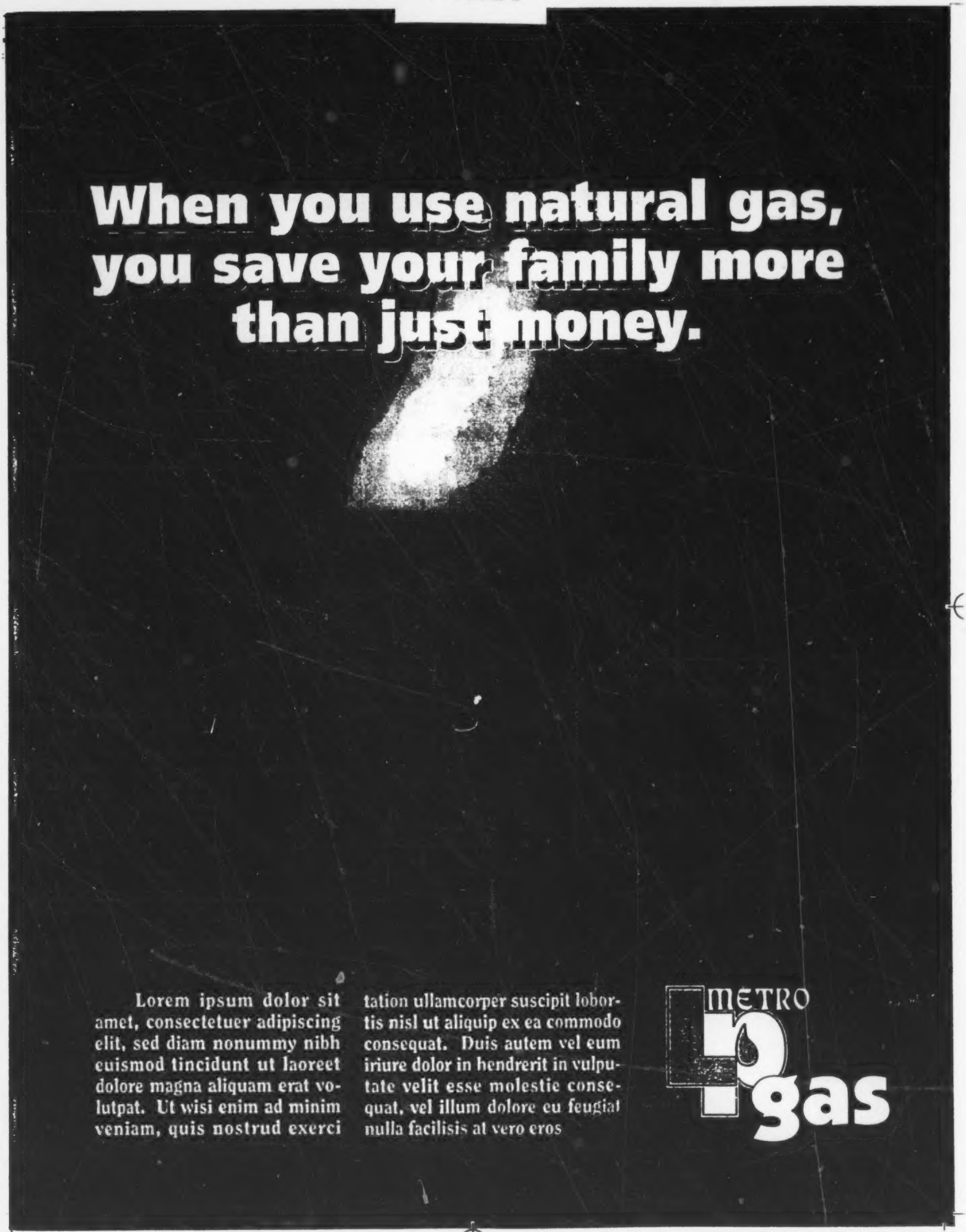
FIGURE 2



When you use natural gas, you save your family more than just money.

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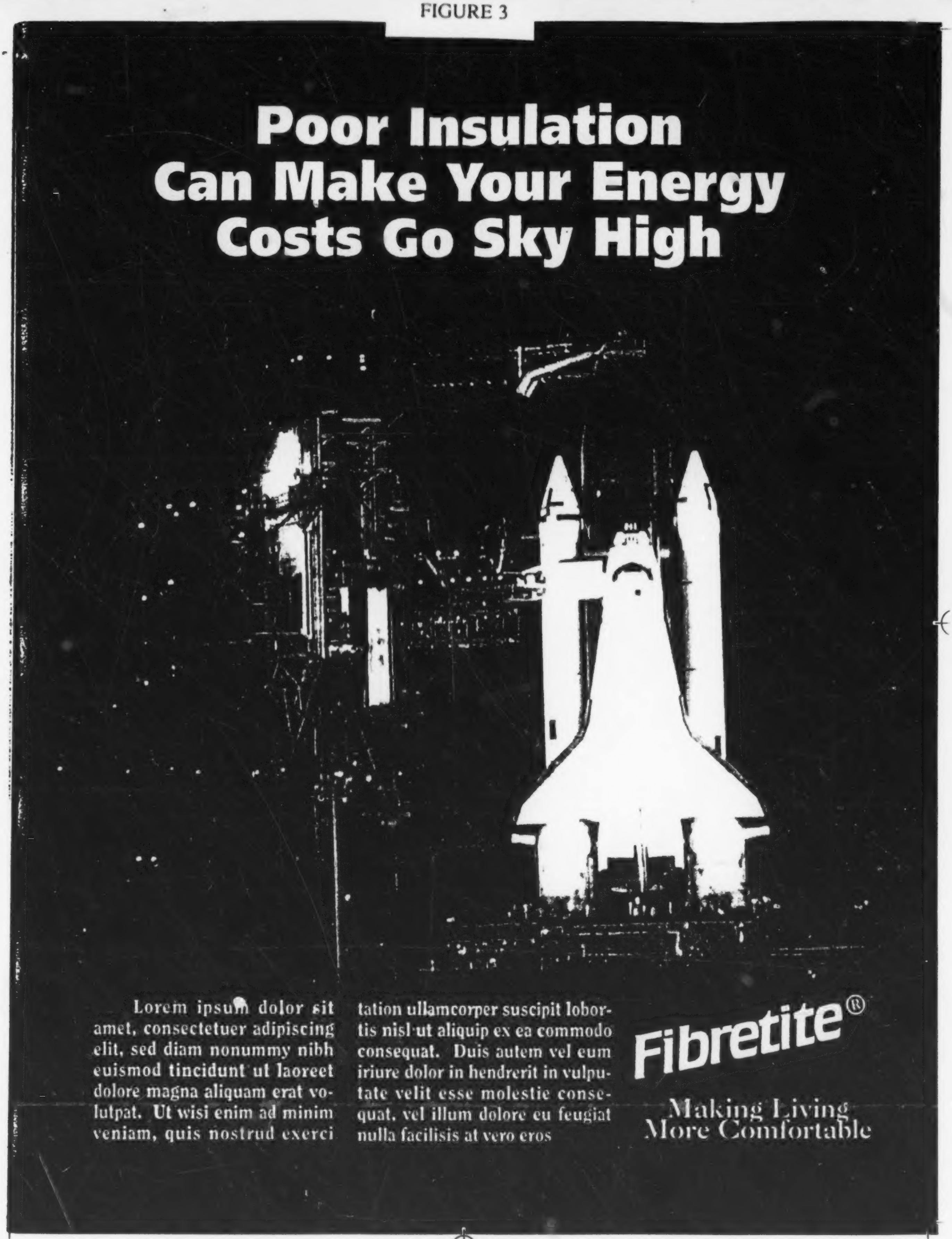
FIGURE 3



Poor Insulation Can Make Your Energy Costs Go Sky High

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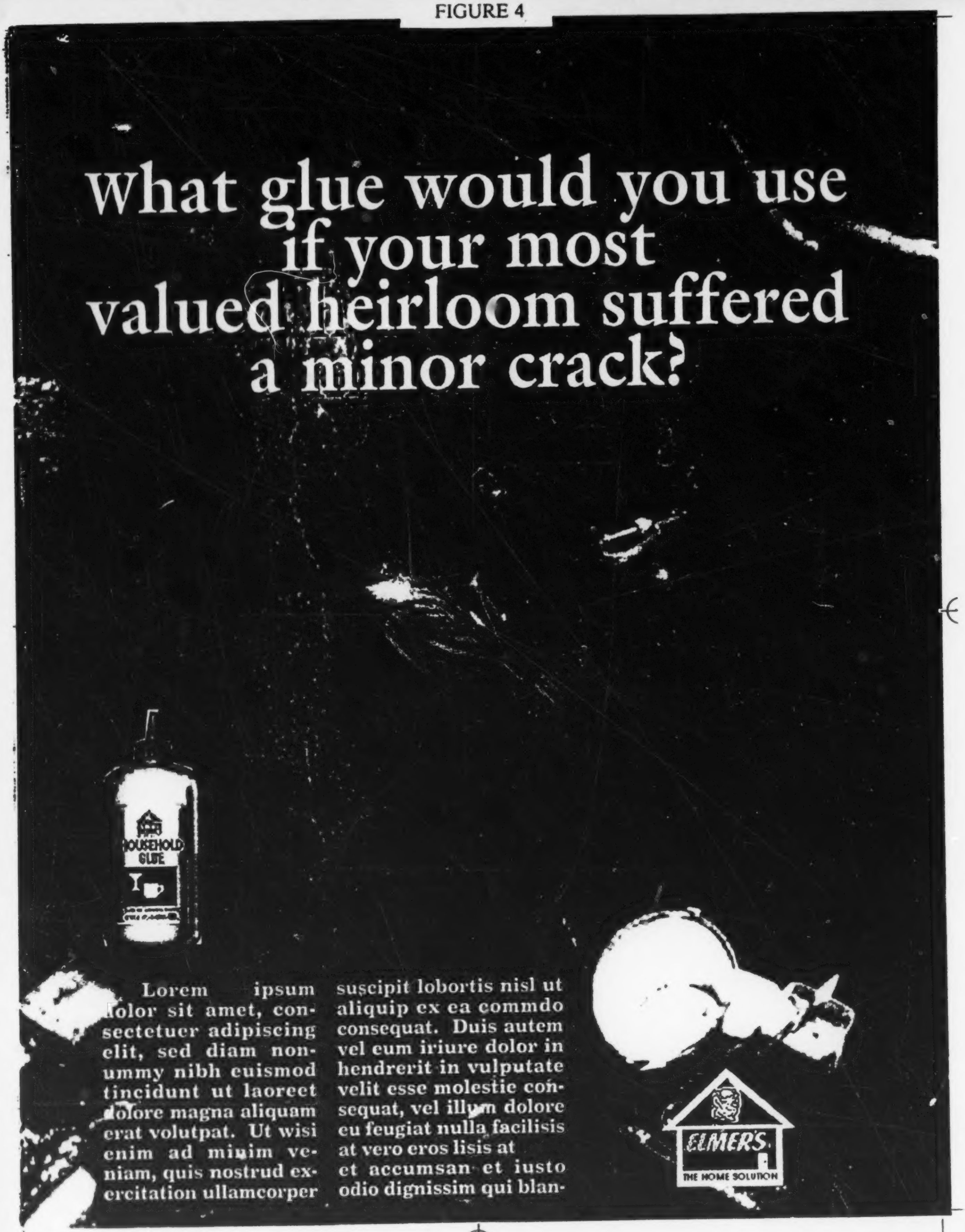
FIGURE 4



What glue would you use if your most valued heirloom suffered a minor crack?

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF CORPORATE ADVERTISING IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF CORPORATE ADVERTISING IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

Abstract:

This analysis compares U.S. and Japanese corporate advertising in order: 1) to refine a framework for classifying corporate advertising, and 2) to highlight differences in the U.S. and Japanese corporate-society environment which are likely to influence corporate advertising content. Hypotheses in this study are based on the assumption that cultural indicators, such as corporate advertising, tend to reflect the structure of the social system in which they are produced. Among the systemic differences between the United States and Japan that are considered relevant to corporate advertising are: conflict vs. consensus-based public policy-making, power distributions among various social groups, and the corporate ownership structure. This study analyzes 529 advertisements from four newspapers, The New York Times, the Wall Street Journal and a similar prestige and business newspaper from Japan. The pattern of corporate advertising differences seems to reflect structural differences in the U.S. and Japanese corporate-society relationships.

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Corporate advertising, "designed to promote the organization's image [or] viewpoint" as opposed to sales (Rau & Preble, 1988, p. 293), is an important means to create more favorable relationships with the operating environment by presenting the corporation as a responsible corporate citizen (Cutlip et al., 1985; Waltzer, 1988). Yet, the nature of the corporate operating environment differs from one social system to another. Thus, the application of corporate advertising is likely to be influenced by the specific conditions of a given social environment. This study compares corporate advertising in two systems, the United States and Japan.

Today, both the U.S. and Japan have enormous global political and economic influence. Their increasing interdependence, accompanied by growing tensions will require effective communication to circumvent nascent conflicts. As has been commonly pointed out, business people in both the U.S. and Japan often do not understand each others' social systems and specific communication processes very well ("Japanese," 1990). Understanding social similarities and differences may help corporations plan competent public communication campaigns.

Although corporate advertising has been actively studied in the U.S. since the 1970s, this has not been the case in Japan. Continuing increases in economic prosperity and the fulfillment of basic economic needs in Japan will place greater social responsibility on corporations (Wokutch, 1990). Japanese corporate advertising is likely to increase in the near future. This study is one of the first to examine corporate advertising in Japan.

The purposes of this study are: 1) to highlight differences in the corporate-society environment between the U.S. and Japan which are likely to influence the content of corporate advertising, 2) to refine a framework for classifying corporate advertising, and 3) to analyze differences between U.S. and Japanese corporate advertising. Hypotheses in this study are based on the assumption that cultural indicators, such as corporate advertising, tend to reflect the structure of the social system in which they are produced.

2. The business-society environment in the United States

The contemporary business-society environment in the U.S. has undergone tremendous changes over the last three decades, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to this, the social responsibility of business was oriented toward providing goods and services for profit (Buchholz, 1985). Relatively low levels of involvement in corporate activities by government agencies and other organizations did little to stimulate corporate concern for social responsibility (Buchholz, 1989).

However, during the 1960s, public attention to negative externalities of economic production increased. In some cases, economic growth led to social problems such as pollution, discrimination, unsafe workplaces, poor product quality and so on. Criticism and distrust of corporations by consumers, opinion leaders, activist groups, and journalists began to grow. The result was an increase in public pressure to regulate corporate activities (Buchholz, 1985; Wokutch, 1990). Corporations, responding to changes in their operating environment, began to broaden their conception of social responsibility. The concept of "Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)" emerged (Rau, 1983; Buchholz, 1985; Wokutch, 1990), although its contemporary usage CSR can be traced to the work of Bowen in 1953 (Buono & Nichols, 1985). Bowen argued that corporations should respond to public demands by expanding efforts to improve the general quality of life in society (Bowen, 1953).

There has been a large volume of literature on CSR which has supported, criticized and expanded the concept that a corporation has certain obligations to society (Buono & Nichols, 1985). Despite extensive discussion, there is no clear-cut consensus on the specific nature of CSR; there are still questions as to what forms CSR should take.

There are three major interpretations of CSR (Buono & Nichols, 1985; Wokutch, 1990). First, the Traditional Viewpoint, articulated by economists who argue that the only corporate social responsibility is to increase profits for stockholders (Friedman, 1970). At the other extreme is the Corporate Altruism Viewpoint. This view was articulated in 1971 by the Committee for Economic Development's recommendation corporations have an obligation to contribute substantially to the quality of American life (Buchholz, 1989; Wokutch, 1990). Finally, the third viewpoint, Enlightened Self-Interest (ESI), seeks a middle ground between the previous two interpretations. It argues that social responsibility is good business practice in order to avoid long-term profit loss (Buchholz, 1985; Wokutch, 1990). While the cost of social service may reduce short-term profits, in the long run, the cost will produce a favorable environment and continued profitability (Buono & Nichols, 1985). Demonstrating social responsibility may improve the corporation's public image, producing more customers, higher sales, better employees, higher productivity, and even better stock market performance (Buchholz, 1989; Wokutch, 1990).

The growth in concern for corporate responsibility during the 1960s and 1970s was reflected by an increase in government regulatory activity. During this period, the government enacted over one hundred new laws regulating business activity. In 1979, the number of pages of government regulation in the Federal Register increased 305 percent over the preceding eight-year period (Buchholz, 1985). According to Buchholz (1989), these new regulations reflected social concerns (i.e., consumer safety and health, job safety, working conditions, environment, and energy) more so than economic matters (i.e., productivity, growth, employment, and inflation). However, such regulatory efforts were curtailed considerably by the Reagan Administration during the 1980s (Buchholz, 1989). Nonetheless, corporate public relations departments, fortified during the previous decades, continued efforts to improve the operating environment.

The concept of issues management, developed during the 1970s and 1980s, refers to attempts to initiate, manipulate or dispel public issues which affect the organization's activities (Heath & Cousino, 1990). Issues management campaigns often target those who are influential in public policy formulation. While governmental officials are the most influential, activist and other social groups concerned with social aspects of the American life--environmentalists, consumer groups, labor unions, civil rights organizations, and churches--are the other key players in the public policy process. People organize and support such groups because they share common attitudes or values on a particular issue. These groups wield power over public policy beyond the capacities of individuals (Buchholz, 1985).

Whereas lobbying is seen as the most useful tool to influence government officials (Rau, 1983), corporate advertising is an effective way to reach the activist groups and the general public (Cutlip et al., 1985). As a result, corporate advertising, an effective method for a corporation to modify its environment, has been increasingly employed since the early 1970s (Rau, 1983).

In the U.S., the use of corporate advertising emerged in the early part of this century. Generally, the first example of a large-scale corporate advertising campaign was AT & T's advertisements in 1908 (Rau, 1983). However, most researchers agree that the contemporary era of corporate advertising began during the oil crisis of the early 1970s. At that time, public confidence in big business dropped from between 50% and 60% in the late 1960s to a low of 20% to 30% (Lipset & Schneider, 1978). According to the annual survey by the Leading National Advertisers (LNA), corporate advertising expenditures has been steadily increasing in the U.S. during the past two decades (with the exception of 1982, a recession year). The LNA estimated that corporate advertising expenditures was about $2680 million in 1989 ("Steady growth," 1990). That figure compares (with some caution about the comparability of definitions) to about $220 million in 1970 (Dardenne, 1977).

2. The corporate-social environment in Japan

Since the end of World War II, most Japanese people have accepted economic growth as a primary national goal. Japanese CSR was promoted as early as 1956 by the Keizai Doyukai (the Japanese version of the Committee for Economic Development). The committee stated that business should put social responsibility above profit-making. At this point, CSR was not a widely shared priority (Mafune, 1988). However, the fundamental changes in the U.S. business environment that began in the 1960s and expanded during the 1970s also emerged in Japan during the 1970s. Extremely rapid economic growth led to a number of social problems, including a series of environmental diseases caused by industrial pollution resulting in hundreds of deaths and thousands of afflicted people.

By the early 1970s, corporate responsibility for environmental problems became an issue of public concern in Japan (Richardson et al., 1981). For example, in a 1971 nationwide survey, 50% of the respondents stated that pollution was caused by irresponsible business firms; in another survey, 51% preferred less pollution even at the cost of lower economic growth (Sethi, 1975). The 1973 oil embargo, which revealed Japan's dependent vulnerability, soured optimism toward economic growth even further. Criticism of the predominant focus on profit-making rose among the public (Dentsu PR Center, 1988). The Japanese government was forced to alter policies to improve public welfare (Sethi, 1975).

Yet even today, CSR is not as widely discussed in Japan as it is in the United States (Wokutch, 1990). Although there has been a broad agreement that corporations should take on social responsibilities beyond profit-making, CSR's definition and application remain vague. For example, Kusumoto (1989), the CEO of the Minolta Corporation, said that CSR in Japan usually means taking care of your own employees. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI, the Japanese Department of Commerce) concluded that Japanese CSR is based on a continuous dialogue between business and society (Mafune, 1988). Thus, the Japanese conception of CSR is an on-going, adaptive process of consensus-building.

2. Structural differences between the U.S. and Japan

Wokutch (1990) pointed out that differences in the U.S. and Japanese approaches to CSR are related to their contrasting systemic relations between business, government, employees, consumers, activist groups, stockholders, and so on. Differences are manifested in the nature of regulatory policy-making, the role of interest groups, financial arrangements and employee relations.

In contrast to the U.S., business-government relations in Japan have been characterized as a harmonious collaboration, often called Japan Inc. (Ruch, 1984). The history of modern business-government relations can be traced back to the Meiji period beginning in 1886 when the government created heavy industries, banking systems, and military systems under the slogan of Fukoku Kyohei (rich country and strong army). Later on, many of the heavy industries were sold to and run by private enterprises which were strongly tied to political power holders. The resultant high level of centralization of power is still reflected in the bureaucratic leadership and political-industrial cooperation of Japan's post-war society (McMillan, 1985). Corporate executives and government ministers work hard to reach an overall consensus on a long range vision despite disagreements on short-term goals (Drucker, 1981; McMillan, 1985).

Japanese regulatory policy is relatively stable due to the dominance of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) throughout the post-war era (Wokutch, 1990). In addition, the LDP's firm control of power reduces political struggles over policy further reinforcing consensus decision-making (Richardson et al., 1981).

Japanese consumer and social groups have been a relatively weak force compared to those in the U.S. (Wokutch, 1990). The close business-government relationship has sometimes put a low priority on consumer interests in the name of profit maximization (Sethi et al., 1984). Like most countries, Japan has a variety of social activist groups engaged in a wide range of political activities including lobbying and mass demonstrations (Richardson et al., 1981). Yet, compared to U.S. groups, Japanese activist groups are not well-organized and not nearly as influential on public policy issues (Wokutch, 1990). The majority of Japanese employees do not belong to social groups outside their corporations because an individual is only allowed to be represented by one group at a time (Sethi, 1975). Thus, Japanese activist groups often have difficulty obtaining wide-spread public participation and are typically less of a threat to corporate interests (Wokutch, 1990).

Financial relations are also quite different in Japan. Japanese stockholders influence management far less than in the U.S. One reason is that only 20% of Japanese corporate funding comes from stockholders while 80% comes from banks. In the U.S., the reverse is true; 80% is from stockholders. Furthermore, U.S. stockholders consider themselves to be owners of the company, while Japanese stockholders view their holdings as simply savings accounts (Ruch, 1984). Some studies (Pettway & Yamada, 1986) showed that most Japanese managers do not think that increasing investment return is an important corporate goal, whereas U.S. managers often regard stockholder profits as the primary objective. In addition, most publicly-owned shares in Japan are owned by affiliated groups of banks and corporations called Keiretsu forming interdependent linkages which reinforce consensus decision-making and make hostile take-overs rare occurrences.

With respect to employee relations, Japanese businesses have relatively stable relations with labor (Wokutch, 1990). In most cases, Japanese labor unions are company-based organizations while American unions are trade or profession-oriented (Sethi et al., 1984). Most members of Japanese labor unions believe that management and unions must strive for the same goals, the corporation's profit and workers' wealth. Japanese employees and their families are often given additional benefits by the corporation such as housing, low interest loans and medical services (Ruch, 1984). Employees, in turn, are expected to refrain from demanding management concessions. Japanese collectivism is rooted in a cultural heritage which evolved from communal rice-growing villages dependent on cooperation. It was also fostered by Confucianism which emphasizes a mutual duty of relationships based on senior leadership and subordinate loyalty (Sethi et al., 1984). These orientations led to the Japanese lifetime employment system. Each year, new entry-level graduates are recruited and trained with the expectation that they will remain with the corporation until their retirement. In turn, job security is virtually guaranteed. The turnover rate in Japan is less than one-fourth that in the U.S. (Ruch, 1984). In essence, the Japanese corporation's image thus becomes very important to ensure high quality employees in an environment plagued by labor shortages.

In sum, Japanese corporations operate in a relatively stable social environment, demonstrating CSR through compliance with consensus policy objectives and paternalistic employee relations. In the process, Japanese corporations have not developed extensive issues management programs. Compared to Japan, the U.S. has far more conflicts between business and government. In addition, business institutions are more independent from the government. In Japan, a substantial civil bureaucracy existed long before the emergence of big business. In the U.S., big business enterprises first appeared at the turn of this century, while comparable administrative hierarchies in government evolved later during the New Deal and World War II. Thus, when the government did begin to grow, it was seen as a potential threat to free enterprise system and business independence (McCraw, 1984). U.S. corporations are thus more likely to get involved in policy issues. In essence, U.S. public policy is formulated through conflict between various government, industry and interest groups, whereas the process in Japan is more consensual.

2. A typology of corporate advertising

For the purpose of the study, corporate advertising refers to any types of ads which are designed to influence the corporate-social environment. Many researchers distinguish issue or advocacy advertising from other types of corporate advertising (Garbett, 1988; Rau, 1983; Sethi, 1979; Stridsberg; 1977; Waltzer, 1988). Sethi (1979) and Waltzer (1988) divided corporate advertising into institutional/image advertising and idea/issue or advocacy advertising. Image ads are aimed at creating favorable images in the minds of the general public without focusing on any specific social issues. Issue or advocacy ads, on the other hand, are designed to promote the corporation's position on current social issues in order to influence public attitudes or public policy.

Waltzer's (1988) examination of corporate advertising on the op-ed pages of the New York Times from January 1985 to June 1986 found that 29% of 351 total sample ads were issue/advocacy advertising. Because the op-ed pages of the Times are essentially open to provide corporations the opportunity to speak out (Waltzer, 1988), this percentage may be higher than the portion of issue ads in the entire newspaper. Meadow (1983) examined non-product advertising in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal in 1975 and 1980. Issues ads made up 49.8% if the ads in the Times and 28.0% of the ads in the Journal for 1975 and 25.6% and 36.9% respectively in 1980.

Building on previously cited research, this study constructs a typology of corporate advertising based on the ad's underlying objective. Table 1a and 1b provide a typology "image" ads and "issue" ads consisting of seven categories (objectives A-G) and nineteen sub-categories (message types 1-19). A given ad may belong to more than one category as campaigns often have multiple objectives (Garbett, 1989). It is conceivable that some ads might may belong to both issue and image categories.

2. Research Hypotheses

Based on the structural differences between the U.S. and Japan identified above, five major hypotheses are proposed:

> H1: Organizations in Japan use corporate advertising less frequently for Goodwill and Charity objectives (A and B) than organizations in the U.S.

According to literature cited above, Japanese organizations tend to have less concern for CSR and voluntary social activities. In addition, in Japan charitable activities are not as common as in the U.S. Thus, Goodwill advertising is less likely to be used by Japanese organizations.

> H2: Organizations in Japan use corporate advertising less frequently for Financial objectives (C) than organizations in the U.S.

Japanese corporations have much less need to attract independent investors. In addition, Japanese corporations have fewer possibilities for hostile takeovers. As a result, Financial ads are less likely to be used by Japanese corporations.

H3: In Japan, Employee Recruitment ads (D) will be more common than in the U.S.

Japanese corporations are more concerned about publicly recruiting new graduates due to the Japanese lifetime employment policy and recent labor shortages forcing corporations to become more competitive for qualified employees (Koukokuhi, 1990). Thus, Japanese corporations should use Recruitment ads more frequently than their U.S. counterparts.

H4: In Japan, Awareness objective ads (E) will be more common than in the U.S.

In Japan, the corporation is more central part of social life. The corporate image is very important (Dentsu, 1988). In addition, because of the consensus-oriented relations, Japanese tend to avoid conflictive expression, preferring to promote the corporate image to create a favorable environment. Thus, Japanese organizations are likely to use more Awareness advertising than U.S. organizations.

H5: Organizations in Japan are less likely to use Issue advertising (F and G) than organizations in the U.S.

Japanese corporations, are based in a consensus-oriented environment and rarely engage in proactive, public attempts to influence policy. Based in a more conflict-oriented environment, U.S. organizations are more likely to protest against expanding regulations and defend themselves from activist pressures. Thus, Japanese organizations should be less likely than U.S. organizations to employ Issue advertising.

1. METHODS

This study analyzed newspaper ads because they are one of the most popular media for corporate advertising in both the U.S. and Japan. Four newspapers, two from the U.S. and two from Japan were selected: the New York Times (Times) and the Wall Street Journal (Journal) from the U.S. and Asahi Shimbun (Asahi) and Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Nikkei) from Japan. The Times and Asahi are comparable because they have reputations as influential general interest newspapers. The Journal and Nikkei are also comparable as influential business papers (Dentsu, 1988; Japan Times, 1988).

The time period analyzed was one year (October, 1989 to September, 1990). Corporate ads which were at least one quarter of a page for the U.S. papers and at least four-fifteenths of a page for Japanese papers were analyzed. In order to simplify the sampling process, only ads appearing in the main section of both the Times and Journal were analyzed. Japanese papers have only one section which contains a few local pages. The ads in the local pages were omitted because they are intended only for a localized audience. Saturday and Sunday editions were omitted because the Journal does not have Saturday and Sunday editions and the Sunday edition of the Times has different characteristics from weekday editions. Evening editions of Japanese newspapers were also omitted because the U.S. papers do not have evening editions.

To obtain approximately 120 ads per newspaper, the sample included all ads from every other day for the _Times_, every fourth day for _Asahi_, and every sixth day for the _Journal_ and _Nikkei_. In all, 129 ads were analyzed from the _Times_, 128 from the _Journal_, 131 from _Asahi_, and 141 from _Nikkei_. The starting date was randomly determined for each newspaper.

The recording instrument included: the date and size of the ad, the type of corporate ad (using the above typology), subject for Issue ads, sponsor characteristics, and use of photos, illustrations or spokespersons.

Ads were coded by graduate students fluent in both English and Japanese. Coders were trained using both oral and written instructions. These instructions contained information about corporate advertising and each item in the recording instrument. Then, each coder coded about 20 ads which were not in the sample. After reaching sufficient initial intercoder agreement, coders independently analyzed sampled ads. Krippendorff's alpha was used to assess the final intercoder agreement on a randomly selected 25% of the sample coded by more than one coder. An alpha of at least .65 was considered acceptable. For most variables, alpha exceeded 85%. Celebration, Stockholder's Fight, Social Activity, Ideology, Resolving Misunderstanding and Counter Editorial were dropped from the data analysis because of their low intercoder agreement (these types of ads were very rare which reduces agreement estimates).

1. RESULTS

2. Advertising objectives

Hypothesis 1, that Japanese newspapers would have fewer corporate ads with Goodwill and Charity objectives than U.S. newspapers, was partially supported (Table 2). The proportion of Goodwill ads was almost equal; 17.9% in the U.S. newspapers and 22.1% in the Japanese newspapers. However, the U.S. newspapers did have a significantly higher proportion of Charity ads as predicted (6.6% vs. 0.7% for Japan).

For specific Goodwill message types, Japanese newspapers actually had significantly higher percentages of Cultural/Arts Promotion (7.0% in Japan vs. 0.8% in the U.S.) and Public Education/Advisory (5.9% in Japan vs. 2.3% in the U.S.) messages.

Hypothesis 2, that organizations in Japan use corporate advertising less frequently for Financial objectives than organizations in the U.S., was not supported. There were not many Financial ads in the newspapers from either country; only 2.3% of U.S. newspapers' ads and 1.5% of Japanese ads had Financial objectives.

Hypothesis 3, that the Employee Recruitment objective is more frequently used in Japanese corporate advertising than in U.S. advertising, was supported. In Japan, 9.9% of the sampled ads addressed Recruitment objectives. On the other hand, no Recruitment ads were observed in U.S. newspapers.

Hypothesis 4, that Japanese corporate ads would have a higher proportion of Awareness objectives, was supported. In both countries, Awareness ads were the most common type of corporate advertising. However, ads in Japanese newspapers were much more likely to have Awareness objectives (78.7%) compared to the ads in U.S. newspapers (58.4%).

Differences between the four specific types of Awareness are also shown in Table 2. Corporate Identification was the most prevalent, exhibiting a significant difference between the U.S. (50.2%) and Japan (71.7%). Short Story Presentation ads were employed in both the U.S (7.4%) and Japan (10.3%) more frequently than others, but the difference was not significant. In addition, Japanese newspapers had a significantly higher proportion of Technological Innovation ads (4.8% vs. 0.4% in U.S. newspapers (0.4%).

Hypothesis 5, that organizations in Japan are less likely to use Issue advertising compared to organizations in the U.S., was also supported (Table 3). Almost one-fourth (24.5%) of U.S. ads presented Issue messages, while only 4.0% of the ads in Japanese newspapers had Issue messages.

Table 3 also summarizes the analysis of two specific message types categorized as Issue ads. According to the analysis, significant differences between the U.S. and Japan were found for both Issue Position (20.2% of U.S. ads vs. 3.7% of Japanese ads) and Ally Recruitment (5.4% of U.S. ads vs. 0.7% of Japanese ads).

2. Newspaper comparisons

The above tables reveal several significant differences between corporate advertising in the U.S. and Japan. When types of corporate ads are broken out by individual newspapers, it is clear that the singularity of the New York Times accounts for part of this difference. As shown in Table 4, there was a significant difference across newspapers. First, it should be noted that ads in both business papers--the Wall Street Journal and Nikkei--had many more Awareness messages: 84.4% in the Journal and 90.4% in Nikkei. In contrast, only 32.6% ads in the Times and 65.6% ads in Asahi had Awareness objectives. The relatively low amount of Awareness ads in the Times contributed strongly to the significant difference between U.S. and Japanese newspapers.

There was also a significant difference across newspapers for Issue ads. Again, the Times was proportionally distinct as the Journal was more similar to the Japanese newspapers. Issue ads in the Journal made up 7.0% of corporate ads, which was close to the figure for Asahi (5.3%) and Nikkei (2.8%). On the other hand, 41.9% of corporate ads in the Times had Issue messages. In other words, relatively large number of Issue ads in the Times was primarily responsible for the significant difference between U.S. and Japanese newspapers.

The Times was also distinct for Charity ads at 11.6%, while the other three newspapers were below 2%. However, the patterns for Goodwill, Financial and Recruitment ads were quite different.

The general newspapers, Times (24.8%) and Asahi (33.6%) had the highest proportions of Goodwill ads. Financial ads were observed mostly in the business papers of both countries (the Journal had 4.7% and Nikkei had 2.1%). The Times had no Financial ads and Asahi had just one. Both Japanese newspapers published Employee Recruitment ads; 8.4% of Asahi's corporate ads and 11.3% of Nikkei's corporate ads had Employee Recruitment objectives.

1. DISCUSSION

Five hypotheses examined differences in corporate advertising between the U.S. and Japan in the context of differences the nations' corporate-social relationships. One hypothesis was not supported, one was partially supported and three hypotheses were supported.

For H1, it was hypothesized that U.S. corporations would use more ads with Goodwill and Charity objectives because substantial literature has documented the relatively high importance of demonstrating CSR for U.S. corporations. In the U.S., corporations have developed image management programs in part to reduce government regulatory action. In Japan, on the other hand, where social groups and the general public are less influential, there is less pressure to demonstrate CSR. In addition, charitable or philanthropic corporate activities which are rooted in Judeo-Christian traditions, are less prevalent in Japan than in the U.S. Thus, it was expected that U.S. corporations would use more Goodwill and Charity messages in corporate advertising to address their usefulness to society. These structural and cultural differences between the U.S. and Japan translated into differences in the use of Charity, but not Goodwill advertisements.

There are at least two possible explanations why the hypothesis was not supported for Goodwill ads. First, Japanese corporations may be becoming more conscious of the need to demonstrate CSR. As Wokutch (1990) stated, the fulfillment of basic economic needs in Japan has brought about greater demands for CSR from the Japanese people. These demands may not be presented in Japanese society as openly as in the U.S.; however, the number of Goodwill ads suggests that Japanese corporations have begun to respond to an increase in social expectations.

Second, corporations may use Goodwill ads as a marketing tool as well as a means to demonstrate CSR. Some corporations may use Goodwill ads as sophisticated alternatives to commercial ads, as an indirect method to stimulate markets. For example, some of cultural/arts promotion messages, which were found more frequently in Japanese newspapers, clearly targeted potential customers (e.g., a video movie contest by a home video equipment maker). Future research could examine this question further. It would also be useful to compare current results with corporate ads from 1970 to 1980 in order to see whether Japanese Goodwill ads have increased significantly over the years. If so, this might be an indication that Japanese corporations have begun to recognize CSR.

H2 stated that because U.S. corporations must attract and maintain individual investors, corporations would employ corporate Financial ads more frequently to promote good relations with the financial community. However, the data indicate that corporations placed a relatively small number of Financial ads in both newspapers. At least two interpretations could explain why Financial ads were not found in U.S. newspapers as predicted.

First, the sample from U.S newspapers omitted sections which might contain more Financial ads: the "Business" section of the New York Times and the "Money & Investing" section of the Wall Street Journal. Thus, this sample bias may have led to the low number of U.S. Financial ads to a certain degree.

Second, because the financial community is a relatively narrow and specific audience (Garbett, 1988), the sponsors of Financial ads may use more specific communication channels such as financial publications or newsletters. Compared with other financial media, even business papers have broader audiences who are not necessarily interested in financial markets. Thus, financial advertisers may use more specific media than the relatively expensive newspaper ads. Future research could explore the relative importance of the various channels that corporations use to communicate this type of financial information.

Results support H3, that Japanese organizations use more Employee Recruitment ads. Almost 10% of the corporate ads in Japanese papers were Recruitment messages. No Recruitment ads were found in U.S. papers. Recruiting new graduates is crucial to building a quality labor force for many Japanese corporations because of the Japanese lifetime employment system and labor shortage. In Japan, most new graduates are recruited at the same time of year even when there are no specific positions available at the moment. The majority of Japanese employees are expected to remain with their corporations during most of their career. In the U.S. employees are usually hired for specific and immediate jobs after having working experience in other companies (Ruch, 1984). Because the Japanese lifetime employment system leads to lower job mobility, Japanese organizations must acquire young labors as they graduate. In addition, Japanese corporations are facing a shortage of labor which causes highly competitive conditions for employers. As a result, for Japanese corporations, corporate advertising is effective for promoting good corporate image to prospective young graduates. Employee Recruitment ads are not productive in the U.S. where job mobility is high and employee recruitment depends on immediate needs.

The results of H4 and H5 are relatively complicated and need closer examination. The overall results of the hypothesis tests showed that significant differences exist in the use of Awareness and Issue ads between the U.S and Japan. However, the data also indicated that the differences are heavily influenced by the characteristics of corporate advertising in the New York Times. The Times had less Awareness ads and more Issue ads than the other three papers. Ads in the Wall Street Journal, on the other hand, showed patterns similar to Japanese papers. Hypotheses 4 and 5 were based on the assumptions that: Japanese corporations tend to avoid presenting their opinions openly to the public and prefer to convey image and that U.S. corporations are more likely to express their point of view on controversial issues directly to influence the public.

The results of this study supported these assumptions. The data analysis indicated that Japanese organizations use only a small number of Issue ads. Instead, Japanese organizations placed many Awareness ads in newspapers. In Japan, public policy is formulated under governmental leadership through consensus-based processes along with the relevant corporations. Government and business cooperate to achieve economic and social goals based on a broad consensus of viewpoints (Preston & Post, 1975). Within this Japanese system, public promotion of specific interests by individual corporations is neither expected nor effective. Instead, organizations are more likely to engage in face-to-face and ongoing interaction with key officials on the issue. Japanese corporations engage in image-making to obtain both marketing success and public respect (Dentsu, 1988). In addition, issue advertising is less important because of the relative lack of power of public interest groups.

On the other hand, U.S. corporations have been facing threats from activist groups which openly criticize the corporations or pressure them with actions such as boycotts (Weidenbaum, 1990). Furthermore, U.S. corporations often actively attempt to reduce or prevent governmental intervention as much as possible. In order to deal with this challenging environment, U.S. corporations have developed issues management programs with systematic strategies to respond to key public issues affecting the corporation. Within the process of issues management, external communication is important to inform the public about the corporation's position on various issues.

The fact that the expected differences showed up most prominently in ads in the New York Times may be related to the nature of its audience. As an elite general newspaper in the U.S., the Times is thought to have readers who influence public policy and public opinion. Therefore, it may be a prime vehicle for issue advertising aimed at audience members involved in the public policy agenda, such as government officials, journalists, and social leaders.

There are some important limitations to this study which influence the interpretation of the results. First, the four newspapers sampled do not represent all vehicles for corporate advertising in both countries. There are other print (e.g., other newspapers, magazines or direct mail) and broadcast media (e.g., television or radio) which may convey corporate advertising. In addition, the audiences for the papers sampled in this study are not representative of the entire public in the U.S. and Japan. However, the audiences of these newspapers, which include influential government, business and other actors in the public policy arena, are Japan are likely to be prime targets for corporate advertising.

In conclusion, this study synthesized previous research on corporate advertising to construct a framework for classifying corporate ads according to their objectives. The results of the application of this framework to content analyze corporate ads showed that the contrast between the conflict-based system in the U.S. and consensus-based system in Japan was, for the most part, reflected in differences in their corporate advertising. At the theoretical level, this indicates a correspondence between cultural forms, such as corporate advertising, and the structure of social and economic relations between such forces as governments, corporations, their employees, social groups, and the general public. However, similar patterns in the use of Goodwill ads suggests that corporations in both the U.S. and Japan attempt to demonstrate corporate social responsibility to respond to changing public expectations.

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Table 1a. A typology of corporate "Image" ads based on ad objectives.

A **Goodwill**--enhancing or maintaining the organization's reputation and goodwill
  1) **Corporate Philanthropy/Altruism**--to give notice about the organization's aid/contribution to education, health, welfare and the arts
  2) **Cultural/Arts Promotion**--to inform about arts/essay contests or scholarship awards sponsored by the organization
  3) **Celebration/Congratulation**--to praise individuals', communities' or other institutions' awards or anniversaries
  4) **Corporate Solutions to Problems**--to communicate the organization's concern and record of achievement regarding social or environmental problems
  5) **Public Education/Advisory**--to educate or advise audiences on general subjects or social causes by providing information

B **Charity**--broadening and maintaining donations/volunteers for the organization or its activities
  6) **Public Support Request**--to ask audiences for donations/ contributions/volunteer participation in the organization or its activities

C **Financial**--attracting or maintaining the organization's stockholders
  7) **Corporate Financial**--to improve perceptions of the organization among the investment community
  8) **Stockholders Fight**--to ask support in the case of a hostile takeover

D **Employee Recruitment**--attracting possible new employees
  9) **Employee Recruitment**--to recruit new graduates or other potential applicants for the organization by presenting it as a good workplace

E **Awareness**--improving the level of awareness of the organization and its activities
  10) **Corporate Identification**--to publicize the organization's name, logo or symbols or to celebrate a corporate anniversary
  11) **Corporate Opening**--to address the organization's plant/office opening, expansions
  12) **Corporate Social/Civic Activities**--to give notice about the organization's social activities such as exhibitions, trade shows, conferences
  13) **Technological Innovations**--to inform audiences about the latest technologies related to the organization
  14) **Short Story Presentation**--to deliver short stories of general or business interest in the form of essays, historical episodes, or interviews

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Table 1b. A typology of corporate "Issue" ads based on ad objectives.

F **Issue Position**--advocating a specific position on issues of importance to the organization, its industry or business in general
  15) **Issues Position Articulation**--to address the organization's viewpoint on public policy or a controversial social issue
  16) **Advocating Ideology**--to foster values of the free enterprise system or capitalism
  17) **Ally Recruitment**--to request specific supportive actions for the organization's position (i.e., sending a letter to a public official)

G **Counter**--countering misunderstandings or news coverage of the organization by presenting the corporation's position
  18) **Resolving Misunderstanding**--to correct public misconceptions
  19) **Counter Editorial**--to reply to news stories about the organization

Table 2. Crosstabulation of advertising objectives of "Image" corporate advertising in United States vs. Japanese newspapers.

General objective (Specific ad type)	U.S. (n=257)	Japan (n=272)	x^2
Goodwill ads	17.1%	22.1%	2.04
(Philanthropy)	10.5	8.8	.43
(Culture Promotion)	0.8	7.0	13.36***
(Solutions)	3.5	2.2	.80
(Public Education)	2.3	5.9	4.17*
Charity ads	6.6	0.7	13.19**
Financial ads	2.3	1.5	.53
Employee Recruitment ads	0.0	9.9	26.88***
Corporate Awareness ads	58.4	78.7	25.40***
(Identification)	50.2	71.7	25.72***
(Opening)	0.8	2.9	3.33
(Technology)	0.4	4.8	9.88**
(Short Story)	7.4	10.3	1.37

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Table 3. Crosstabulation of advertising objectives of "issue" corporate advertising in United States vs. Japanese newspapers.

General objective (Specific ad type)	U.S. (n=257)	Japan (n=272)	x^2
Issue ads	24.5	4.0	46.01***
(Position)	20.2	3.7	35.01***
(Ally Recruitment)	5.4	0.7	10.00**

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Table 4. Crosstabulation of corporate ad types by newspaper.

	Times (n=129)	Journal (n=128)	Asahi (n=131)	Nikkei (n=141)	x^2
Goodwill ads	24.8%	10.9%	33.6%	11.3%	30.10***
Charity ads	11.6	1.6	1.5	0.0	32.45***
Financial ads	0.0	4.7	0.8	2.1	8.83*
Recruitment ads	0.0	0.0	8.4	11.3	28.10***
Awareness ads	32.6	84.4	65.6	90.8	125.76***
Issue ads	41.9	7.0	5.3	2.8	111.14***

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

USING THE FCB GRID TO WRITE ADVERTISING STRATEGY

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ABSTRACT

Richard Vaughn, research director at Foote, Cone and Belding (FCB) designed the FCB grid to better understand how advertising works. The authors have discovered another use for it: an aid for advertising students to write advertising strategy. In order to understand how this can be accomplished, one first has to investigate the research which led to the introduction of the FCB grid (1979) and then illustrate and examine the suggested new use. This paper deals with just that.

Whether advertising works, has never been the issue, rather, HOW it works has been the burning question for a long time. Richard Vaughn, research director at Foote, Cone and Belding (Los Angeles) was one of many researchers attempting to answer this and in his quest explored the following:

- **traditional advertising theories which were prevalent in the 1950s**
- **consumer behavior models representing the 1960s**
- **later developments (consumer involvement and brain specialization theories)**

His research resulted in Vaughn presenting his famous grid in 1979 (later renamed the FCB grid after the agency where he is employed). The FCB grid is surely one of the most remarkable pieces of advertising research that has seen the light. However, the authors found another use for it: using it as a teaching tool to illustrate to advertising students how to write advertising strategy. At this point the authors would like to emphasize that the "new use" for the FCB grid does not imply that it should be used as a manual for writing an advertising strategy; this is not the purpose of this paper. Rather, it should be looked upon as an useful tool in aiding advertising students in writing advertising strategy. Before this "new" use can be discussed, one first has to look at the different areas which Vaughn investigated.

TRADITIONAL THEORIES

The **economic** theory deals with the "bargain hunter." According to this theory, consumers act in their self-interest, i.e. they look after their wallets. Consumers need to have functional information in order to make a decision. This theory most often applies to commodity items.

According to the **responsive** theory, consumers are lazy and want to exert the minimum effort as far as the purchasing process is concerned. Habits are developed through stimulus-response learning; consequently, information serves as a reminder rather than thoughtful purpose.

Ego involvement plays a major role in the **psychological** theory; the consumer's personality has to be defended or promoted. "Implicit product attitudes are more important than functional benefits for the selective products that touch people so deeply."[1]

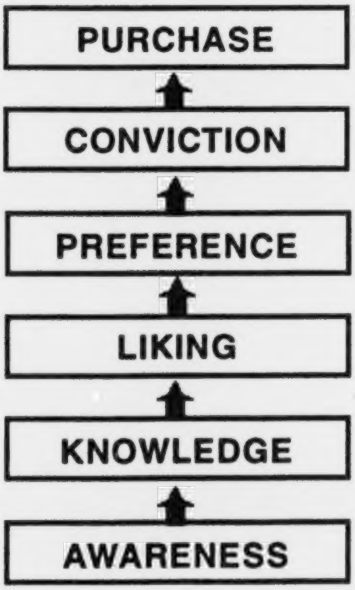
Consumers are basically imitative according to the **social** theory. Consumers watch what others buy and comply with this to get along; it is an emotional, insecure behavior as opinion leaders and word-of-mouth communication are important.

The question is not to determine which theory is right, rather to admit that all these theories have some truth in them. When it comes to expensive products (especially those with high functional benefits), the economic theory seems to dominate consumer behavior. However, many routine items require little or no thought and this is where the responsive theory comes into play. As many items can have symbolic overtones, psychological issues complicate understanding, while the same is true about social motives since numerous products have public meaning.

According to Vaughn these theories may have enough face validity to make them interesting, but they lack the specificity to make them practical; thus Vaughn's rationale behind exploring how consumers respond to advertising.

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR MODELS

Although many consumer behavior models were developed in the early '60s, the authors believe that these models were patterned after the AIDA (Attention, Interest, Desire, Action) model. Of the consumer behavior models which followed later, the Lavidge and Steiner hierarchy of effects model (1961) is probably the best known.

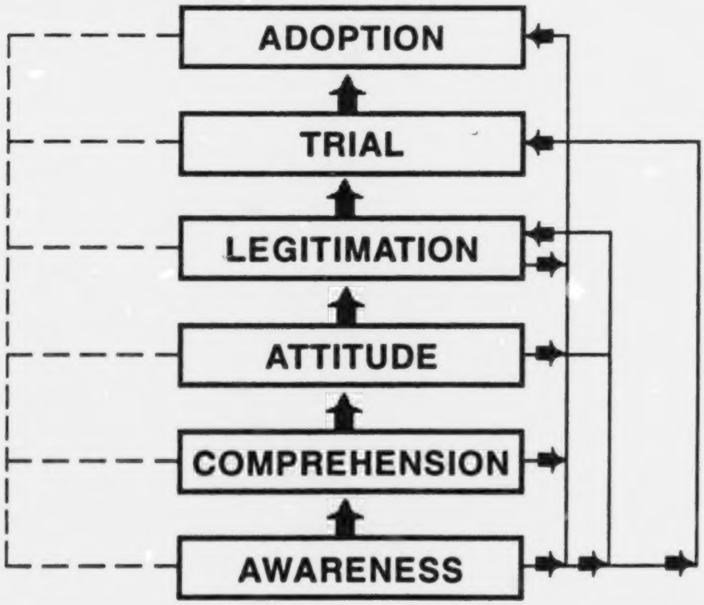


This model proposed that consumer purchase of a product occurred via a sequential hierarchy of events from awareness through knowledge, liking, preference and conviction. Something which Vaughn considers to be a " major step toward integrating the implications of the economic, responsive, social and psychological theories."[2]

Variant models (Andreason, 1963; Nicosia, 1966; Engel-Kollat-Blackwell, 1967 and Howard & Sheth, 1969) followed and according to Vaughn, "despite their detail, these second generation models remedied defects in the basic hierarchy model:"[3]

- **consumers might proceed through the sequence imperfectly; i.e make mistakes, stop, start again**
- **feedback would allow later events to influence earlier activities**
- **consumers could skip the process entirely and behave in an illogical way**

After the complexed model of Howard & Sheth, involving some 35 - 40 variables which were grouped under input, perception, learning and output categories, Robertson (1971) returned to simplicity with a model which included the main features of earlier models.



"This modified 'hierarchy' model proposed that some consumers, under some conditions, for some products, might follow a sequential path. The dotted lines are feedbacks that can alter outcomes. Other decision patterns on the right track [show] consumers as they violate the formal sequence of the hierarchy. Thus, consumers can learn from previous experience and swerve from the awareness-to-purchase pattern. This scheme preserved the LEARN-

FEEL-DO sequence of most hierarchy models but made it more flexible. It also helped explain purchase behavior without the presence of measurable product knowledge or attitude formation."[4]

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Consumer involvement and brain specialization were introduced to "explain why consumers are interested in some purchase activities more than others and how consumers perceive different messages during purchase consideration."[5]

Consumer Involvement suggests a continuum of consumer interest in products and services and deals with factors such as: cost, risk, importance of purchase, amount of thought, purchasing frequency and complexity. Products on the high side involve more risk and require more attention before a decision is made and therefore demand greater use of information. On the lower end of the continuum one will find products which arouse little consumer interest or information handling due to the small risk and effort involved during the decision making process. Vaughn points out the difficulty in defining this concept as involvement can include consumption as well as purchase situations. The higher involved a product becomes, the more attention has to be paid to the decision in order to avoid making a "bad buy." The lower involvement product has a lighter penalty for making a wrong/bad buy.

Brain specialization has it that the "anatomical separation of the cerebral hemispheres of the brain leads to specialized perception of messages."[6] The left side is more capable of handling the cognitive (thinking) functions while the intuitive right side engages the affective (feeling) function. The implication for advertising is that the response will vary depending upon the thinking or feeling communication task involved. Factors which play a role in determining whether a purchase involves more thinking or feeling are:

RATIONAL	**vs**	**EMOTIONAL**
Functional facts		**Ego**
Logic		**Personality**
Product characteristics		**Senses**

Based on the aforegoing information, Vaughn designed a grid where thinking and feeling are represented on a horizontal continuum (some decisions involve more thinking, others more feeling) and involvement on a vertical axis. Vaughn thus created four quadrants into which any product, based on how important the decision is and whether the purchase decision is a more rational or emotional one, could be placed. These quadrants "outline four potentially major goals for advertising strategy: to be informative, affective, habit-forming or to promote self-satisfaction."[7] In the FCB grid, each quadrant:

helps isolate specific categories for strategy planning

Automobiles, furnishings and new products fall in **quadrant one**. The consumer requires much information on these products because of the importance of the product and thinking issues related to it. As a result, advertising for these products may include specific information and demonstrations, a large amount of copy and use reflective, involving media

Jewelry, cosmetics and fashion apparel are in **quadrant two**. These items require higher involvement but are purchased more for emotional than logic appeal. Strategy for a product in this quadrant may make use of emotional appeals which relate to a person's self-esteem.

Many food and household items are located in **quadrant three**. These products require little thought by the consumer and are purchased for more rational reasons. Strategy may be to show a point-of-difference of the brand being advertised.

Finally, products in **quadrant four** include items such as cigarettes, candy and liquor which are purchased based on the consumer's belief that they will satisfy personal tastes. Strategy often makes use of imagery and focuses on quick satisfaction.

approximates one of the traditional consumer theories
(Economic, responsive, psychological or social)

A product in **quadrant one**, a house for example, which approximates the economic theory, will be purchased by consumers basing choice on their best self-interest.

A product in **quadrant two**, a motorcycle, which approximates the psychological theory is purchased because of its effect on the ego; it makes consumers feel good and promotes their personality.

A product in **quadrant three**, oven cleaner, which approximates the responsive theory is purchased out of habit acquired through stimulus-response learning. If a product works well when tried once, it quite likely will become the regularly chosen brand, resulting in brand loyalty.

A product in **quadrant four**, soda, which approximates the social theory is purchased because it is what the consumer's peer group drinks; the consumer imitates others in the peer group.

suggests a variant hierarchy model as strategy guide

LEARN-FEEL-DO, FEEL-LEARN-DO, etc. Depending on the product, a consumer will progress through this sequence differently. Consumers buying a life insurance policy **(quadrant one)** will investigate alternatives (LEARN), consider their options (FEEL) and then make a purchase (DO).

If a consumer is buying jewelry **(quadrant two)** feelings may be developed about the product, information may be sought (LEARN) and finally a purchase may be made (DO).

When a consumer is buying soap **(quadrant three)** the purchase may be made (DO), the consumer will learn from use of the product and develop a feeling for the product.

If a consumer is buying a candy bar **(quadrant four)** a purchase may be made (DO), feelings about the product will bedeveloped (FEEL) and a decision will be made as to whether or not the product will be purchased again (LEARN).

implies considerations for creative, media and research

Because these quadrants indicate different consumer behavior patterns a strategist using the FCB grid will find that the needs of the consumer will change. The grid can be used as a guide to match advertising to consumer behavior.

Quadrant 1: Give specific information or a demonstration using long copy format in reflective vehicles and test through recall and diagnostic tests (automobile advertising).

Quadrant 2: Execution and impact are important. Can be tested through attitude change and emotion arousal and lends itself well to large space ads and image specials (De Beers diamonds).

Quadrant 3: Serves as a reminder to consumers and can be tested through sales. Use short or small spots/ads and Point of Purchase displays.

Quadrant 4: Should grab attention. May use billboards, newspapers and POP and be tested through sales.

THE FCB GRID

High Involvement

Thinking

Quadrant One

Informative (Thinker)

Automobile, house, furniture, new products

Model: LEARN-FEEL-DO (Economic)

Possible Implications:
Test: Recall
Diagnostics
Media: Long copy format
Reflective vehicles
Creative: Specific information
Demonstrations

Feeling

Quadrant Two

Affective (Feeler)

Jewelry, cosmetics, fashion clothing, motorcycle

Model: FEEL-LEARN-DO (Psychological)

Possible Implications:
Test: Attitude change
Emotion arousal
Media: Large space
Image specials
Creative: Executional
Impact

Quadrant Three

Habit Formation (Doer)

Household items

Model: DO-LEARN-FEEL (Responsive)

Possible Implications:
Test: Sales
Media: Small space ads
10 second IDs
Radio and POP
Creative: Reminder

Quadrant Four

Self-satisfaction (Reactor)

Cigarettes, liquor, food, candy

Model: DO-FEEL-LEARN (Social)

Possible Implications:
Test: Sales
Media: Billboards
Newspapers
POP
Creative: Attention

Low Involvement

USING THE FCB GRID TO WRITE ADVERTISING STRATEGY

After Vaughn introduced his grid, FCB took it a step further and conducted pilot studies to determine where "most" consumers would place products on this grid. Once they were confident with this, full scale grid research surveys were undertaken (these are constantly being updated) and today the agency knows where "most" consumers place most products on the grid.

This information is not available to educators, thus creating difficulties for advertising students to place the product on the grid from the consumer's viewpoint. In other words, not where the student will place it but rather where "most" consumers will place it. The authors have developed a 3-step process for students on where to place a product on the FCB grid. Once this is done, the FCB grid then serves as a guideline for students to write advertising strategy.

Step one
Based on the aforegoing, decide in which quadrant a **product** would fall without actually plotting the product in the chosen quadrant.

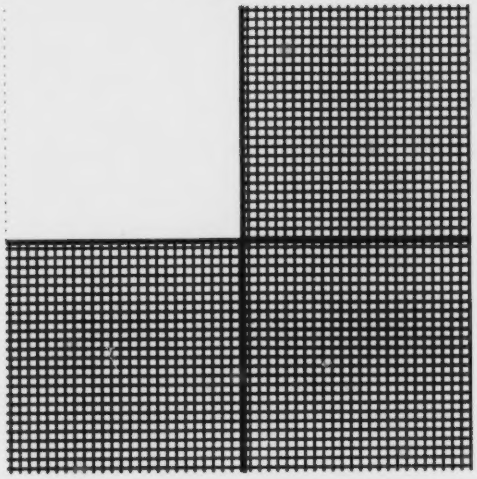
Step two
Once a quadrant has been selected, draw a grid in the chosen quadrant (from step one). Now, based on the **brand,** select a quadrant in the newly drawn grid without plotting the product.

Step three
Draw a grid in the selected quadrant (from step two) and then, based on the **brand attributes**, decide into which quadrant the product would fit best **AND plot** it.

As this may sound confusing, the best way to illustrate this would be to plot a product on the FCB grid via the 3-step process. This is how it would work for a 24-inch, color Magnavox television set with remote control, costing approximately $600.

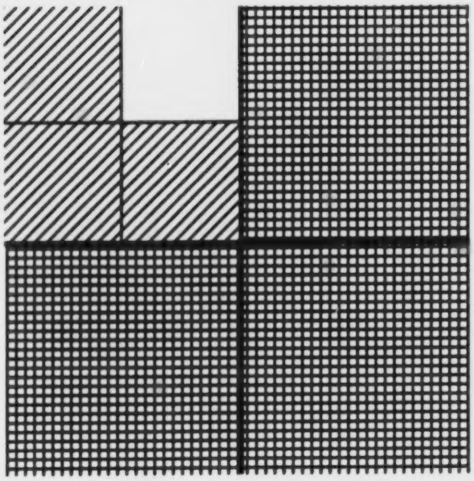
Step one: decide in which quadrant the purchasing of a television set (product) would fall. It can be safely assumed that the purchasing process will, due to the cost of it, involve a great amount of thought, therefore it will be a high involvement product (the upper half of the grid). Furthermore, it would also appear that it would be more of a rational decision (due to the factors which play a part here). It would thus seem that quadrant one, high involvement, logical decision seems to be a likely quadrant for making a television purchase. **All the first step entails is to select a quadrant which involves no plotting (Diagram A).**

Diagram A



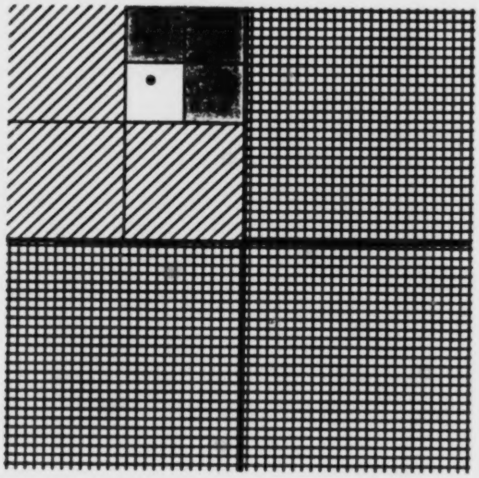
Step two: draw a grid inside quadrant one (as selected per diagram A) and now, based on the **brand name** a quadrant has to be selected which is considered most suitable for purchasing a Magnavox television set. Basically the same factors used in step one will influence the decision as to which quadrant should be selected, but the fact that Magnavox is an American-made television set will most likely influence one to select quadrant two, high involvement, emotional (Diagram B).

Diagram B



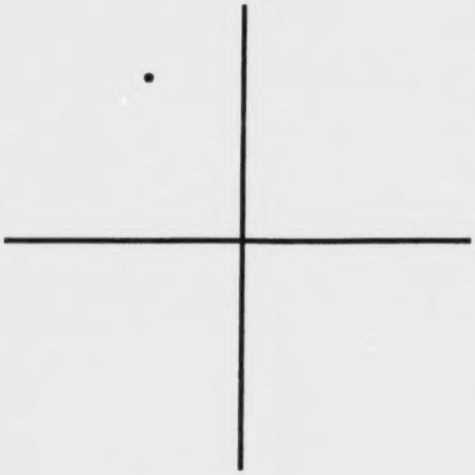
Step three: draw a grid in the quadrant selected during step two (diagram B) and based on the **characteristics/attributes/features** of the Magnavox television set, select the most suitable quadrant and do the actual plotting. In this instance, remote control, color price and screen size come to mind; hence the suggested plotting as per Diagram C (nothing unusual about these characteristics which are comparable to those of other television sets).

Diagram C



Finally, if so desired, the additional grids drawn into the various quadrants may be removed to get a clearer picture as to exactly where the purchasing of a Magnavox television set will fit on the FCB grid (Diagram D).

Diagram D



It would appear that all that has been done up to this stage is to decide where the product will be plotted. Although this may be the case, it should rather be looked upon as the start of a process designed to aid the advertising student in writing an advertising strategy.

Before the student moves onto the final part (referring to the complete FCB grid as depicted earlier on), it first has to be decided whether the plotting seems feasible. Plotting a product on the FCB grid may be difficult initially, but as the student becomes more familiar with the FCB grid, it will be easier to determine whether the plotting seems most likely. However, should the student not be happy with the plotting, it does not simply mean moving the dot to a more desired position; rather, the whole process should be repeated and the student should investigate what was done wrong during each step.

The final part would be to look at the ccomplete FCB grid and study its various implications. In this instance it is implied that an advertising strategy which is informative (i.e. include specific information and demonstration) will appear to be most effective. With this in mind the student should now proceed in writing the advertising strategy.

When applying the 3-step process, the student should bear the following in mind: The selection of a quadrant during step one determines in which of the four quadrants a product should be placed. The subsequent steps have no bearing on the decision made during step one; rather it deals with deciding exactly where to place the product in the quadrant selected during step one. In the case of the Magnavox example, quadrant one (high involvement, rational) was selected during step one due to the nature of the purchase; yet in step two, quadrant two (high involvement, emotional) was selected when one looked at the brand name and in step three, due to the fact that there was nothing unique about the attributes, quadrant three (low involvement, rational) was selected!

However, all the "secondary" selections of quadrants during steps two and three did not influence the decision made in step one during which quadrant one was selected: THE SOLE PURPOSE OF THE DECISIONS IN STEPS TWO AND THREE IS TO FIND THE APPROPRIATE SPOT FOR THE PRODUCT IN QUADRANT ONE!

In at nutshell then: Step one deals with selecting a most appropriate quadrant when a purchasing decision is made, while steps two and three deal with finding the most appropriate spot for the product in the quadrant as selected during step one.

CONCLUSION

Both authors cannot emphasize sufficiently that the FCB grid is NOT to be used as a "manual" for writing advertising strategy; in other words a "how to" approach is neither recommended, nor implied. Rather it should be looked upon as a **guide for aiding the advertising student in writing advertising strategy.**

The need for this "unconvential" use of the FCB grid stemmed from problems experienced by the senior author with advertising students in the past. This has been particularly the case with those students who were "exposed" to this process for the first time. The main problem seemed to be that these students had a difficult time in differentiating between strategy and tactics (the actual execution of the strategy). From discussions which the senior author has had with colleagues at other universities, it appeared that they encountered similar problems.

Not only has the senior author found this method to be successful, but it also gave advertising students a clearer understanding of this complexed process and very little difficulty was experienced to "wean" these students from this in advanced classes in order for them to apply an original and more individual approach.

NOTES

[1] How advertising works: An FCB strategy planning model, Foote, Cone & Belding Communications Inc., (1979 – unpublished information piece)

[2-7] Ibid

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Broadcast Condom Advertising:
The Cultural Hypocrisy of Network Self-Regulation

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Broadcast Condom Advertising: The Cultural Hypocrisy of Network Self-Regulation

Abstract

Examining past and current barriers to the acceptance of contraceptive advertising, opposing positions on network television acceptance of condom advertisements are weighed. While legal barriers to contraceptive advertising have fallen and other personal products have gained clearance, the networks continue to refuse condom spots. True to history, the issue is still driven by a debate over moral standards not factual information. The networks, in light of the multiple health imperatives, should reconsider their condom advertising policies.

Broadcast Condom Advertising:
The Cultural Hypocrisy of Network Self-Regulation

In November of 1991, shortly after Magic Johnson revealed to the public that he was HIV positive, The Wall Street Journal reported that the major television networks might finally reverse a "decades- long" ban on condom advertising (Lipman, 1991, p. B1). The article explained that Fox Broadcasting, a relative newcomer to and often unconventional member of the exclusive broadcast network club, had already approved condom spots conveying a disease prevention message. While the news may have been greeted with a positive response from many readers, the phrase "decades long" probably went unnoticed by most. But, to those embroiled in the wearying fight to topple barriers restricting consumer promotion of contraceptives, especially condoms, it serves as a reminder of goals unattained and promises unfulfilled.

The media, and especially television broadcasters, have long resisted accepting advertisements for products and services which they considered unmentionable. The list, which once included personal products such as hemorrhoid preparations, feminine hygiene and incontinence products has grown ever shorter over time. Yet, as the media have generally softened their stance on the acceptability of advertisements for so-called controversial products, the TV networks have exhibited considerable resistance to efforts aimed at gaining clearance for contraceptive products such as condoms.

This paper examines past and current barriers to the acceptance of contraceptive advertising in general and broadcast condom advertising in particular. In the process, the history of contraceptive marketers' struggle to gain access to media time and space will be reviewed, spotlighting the legal and self-regulatory barriers. Ultimately, the case for and against network TV acceptance of advertisements for condoms will be weighed.

Barriers to Contraceptive Advertising

Spanning over 30 years, the controversy surrounding contraceptive advertising has evolved considerably. Media self-regulation has perhaps been the most consistent force working over the years against the acceptance of this product category, a force strongly and persistently supported by powerful institutions in American society (e.g., organized religion, conservative political groups, etc.). Until the late 1970s, state and federal laws also existed as justification for refusing to accept contraceptive advertising.

Legal Restrictions

The contraceptive advertising issue has its roots in federal law. The Comstock Laws passed by the U.S. Congress in 1873, "prohibited, as obscene, the importing, shipping and mailing of contraceptive articles and information" (Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare, 1978, p. 5). Shortly after passage of the federal law, a number of states including New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut enacted similar state legislation (i.e., "Little Comstock Acts"). Although the courts and other administrative bodies over the years interpreted these laws so as to offer little practical impediment to the dissemination of contraceptives or information about them, the mere existence of government legislation reflects a culturally ingrained aversion to discussion about or acceptance of contraceptive methods.

Congressional amendments to the Comstock Laws removed federal legal barriers in 1971 (Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare, 1978) and The Comstock Acts in several states were challenged and overturned in a series of Supreme Court decisions. Connecticut's statute prohibiting the use of contraceptives was overturned in Griswold v. Connecticut (1965). New York's statute prohibiting the distribution of contraceptives to anyone under 16 and banning advertising and display of contraceptives was found unconstitutional by a district court whose decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court (Carey v. Population Services International, 1977).

Additional legal support for contraceptive marketers' rights to promote their products came again from the Supreme Court in several First Amendment cases. In Bigelow v. Virginia (1975), the Court held that promotion of abortion services in print media was constitutionally protected speech under the First Amendment. Advertising's First Amendment protection was further affirmed in Virginia Citizens Consumer Council, Inc. v. Virginia State Board of Pharmacy (1976) and in Carey v. Population Services International (1977), discussed above, where the Supreme Court held:

> The prohibition of any advertisement or display of contraceptives that seeks to suppress completely any information about the availability and price of contraceptives cannot be justified on the ground that advertisements of contraceptive products would offend and embarrass those exposed to them and that permitting them would legitimize sexual activity of young people.

Thus, regarding the protection of contraceptive advertising as commercial speech, the "dissemination of information about contraceptives is lawful in all States under applicable judicial authority interpreting the First Amendment of the Constitution" (Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare, 1978, p. 77).

Media Self-Regulation

Despite the fall of federal and state statutes as legal barriers to contraceptive advertising, other impediments, in the form of media self-regulation and pressure on the media from social and religious institutions, persist.

Self-regulation in the print media has traditionally been established and enforced at the publication (vehicle) level. Overall, the magazine industry has been relatively accepting of contraceptive advertising, starting first with acceptance by women's magazines of advertisements stressing the need for birth control and family planning (no product mention) in the early 1960s ("Consumer Drive," 1961). With the growth of teen pregnancy and the changing of social mores, increasing numbers of magazines opened their pages to contraceptive advertisements. This trend has continued in response to the AIDS epidemic, with the acceptance of tastefully executed condom advertisements by general interest, national magazines in the late 1980s (Winters, 1987).

Newspapers have been somewhat slower to open their pages to the product category. While some newspapers have been accepting contraceptive advertisements since 1970 ("Schmid Plans," 1970), as recently as five years ago leading papers such as the New York Times still did not. Then, under pressure from various groups the New York Times finally agreed to accept condom advertisements, provided the message was disease prevention, while still banning advertisements for other forms of birth control (Gersh, 1987). At the same time, New York newspapers such as Newsday also announced their acceptance of condom advertisements, while other members of the Fourth Estate (e.g., New Hampshire papers such as the Manchester Union and the New Hampshire Sunday News) continued to take an opposing position (Gersh, 1987).

The contraceptive advertising controversy has been more visibly debated in the broadcasting industry than in the other major media. Until 1982, broadcasters had generally adhered to the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) code established in 1928 for commercial radio and 1952 for television (Maddox & Zanot, 1984). As originally promulgated, the codes, which prescribe network and station behavior along many lines of broadcast operation, banned advertising of "personal products" which included a wide range of unmentionable items such as feminine hygiene deodorants, tampons, hemorrhoid preparations and contraceptives.

NAB broadcast restrictions were first unsuccessfully challenged in 1964 by two manufacturers of contraceptive foams for women ("Emko Ads," 1965). In 1966, after the NAB had adjusted its radio code to ease personal products standards, the Code Board was again approached for clearance of advertisements for contraceptive foams ("Contraceptive Ads," 1966). The NAB ruled that contraceptive products were still not acceptable for radio, even under the revised standards.

In 1972 the NAB voted to ease restrictions on personal products advertising (Alter, 1982). For several years thereafter, contraceptive marketers repeatedly approached the NAB for radio and television clearance of contraceptive advertisements with no success ("Ortho Tumbles," 1973; Christopher, 1975). The NAB's intransigence forced Youngs Drug Products Corp., manufacturer of Trojan condoms, to approach non-code adhering radio and television stations, some of which allowed the spots to air. This action attracted the attention of the news media and forced the issue to a head when Youngs, other contraceptive manufacturers, and Planned Parenthood, met with the NAB to back a position paper prepared with the assistance of the Population Institute of New York. The paper requested a code change on the grounds that teen pregnancy and venereal disease were sufficient cause to allow contraceptive advertising. The NAB refused.

Meetings in the late 1970s between the NAB and groups concerned about the contraceptive advertising issue led nowhere (opponents included critics like Morality in Media and National Right to Life; proponents included the ACLU, Planned Parenthood, the Population Institute). Finally, in 1982, the NAB code was suspended in response to a ruling by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (Maddox & Zanot, 1984). The Code was found to be in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act for reasons unrelated to the personal products standards. Consequently, the radio and television networks and individual stations were left to assume full responsibility for self-regulation.

The Big 3 television networks accepted primary responsibility for network advertising clearance, virtually adopting the NAB standards and procedures as their own (Maddox & Zanot, 1984). Further, individual broadcast licensees assumed the burden of advertising clearance on the local level (Linton, 1987; Wicks, 1991). In a study of station self-regulation, nearly all stations surveyed reported they had guidelines and policies used to make decisions about advertising (Linton, 1987). Interestingly, most stations indicated their policies originated from station management or group/corporate owners, reflecting a growing independence from the networks. Still, the average station consults five policy sources (e.g., last NAB code, station policies, FCC publications, network code, etc.) when making advertising policy decisions and the only type of advertisement banned by most stations is X-Rated movie trailers (Wicks, 1991).

Since the NAB code was suspended the contraceptive advertising controversy has become ever more focused on the issue as it relates to broadcasting and condoms.

Condom Advertising and the Television Networks

While the broadcast condom advertising debate is a direct descendant of the contraceptive advertising issue, the stakes have changed and, consequently, several new parties have entered the fray. The issue from the media's perspective has traditionally been an argument of morality and taste with the television networks and other media positioning themselves alongside institutions such as the Catholic Church. From the point of view of contraceptive manufacturers, their ad agencies, Planned Parenthood, the Population Institute, etc., the issue has been about teenage pregnancy, an epidemic of venereal disease and, after Roe v. Wade (1973), alarmingly high rates of teenage abortion. Now, the issue is about AIDS.

Citizen's groups, the Surgeon General and Congress have grown vocal and insistent as they importune on behalf of contraceptive marketers. Because of AIDS, the arguments advanced now center on life or death scenarios. And the pressure brought to bear has led an increasing number of local television stations and cable networks to accept condom advertising ("More Stations," 1987). Yet, condom manufacturers and their advertising agencies find network television remains as the last bastion of significant resistance.

The prevailing arguments for and against network acceptance of condom advertising (and to some extent the broader contraceptive product category) have changed over the years, but even those made years ago can be and still are made today. Table 1 provides a side-by-side comparison of the opposing points of view.

TABLE 1
The Broadcast Condom Advertising Debate

Arguments For:	Arguments Against:
• High Rates of Teenage Pregnancy	• Condom Ads Offend Viewing Public
• Epidemic Spread of AIDS & Other STDs	• Religious/Moral Objections to Condoms
• Government Support for Condom Advertising	• Condom Ads Promote Promiscuity
• Widespread Sex in TV Programming	• Condom Ads Offend Other Advertisers
• Condoms Already in TV Program Storylines	• Networks are Already Doing Enough with Issues

The Supporting Position

The primary arguments made in support of condom advertising to encourage product use are generally well documented and leave little room for dispute. Yet, they are not readily accepted by all. For example, a longstanding teenage pregnancy rate in the United States of between 1 and 1.5 million per year has been well documented (Trussell, 1988; Ventura, Taffel & Mosher, 1988). However, condom advertising opponents refuse to accept that reason as sufficient justification on the premise that abstinence is the only true solution. The same stalemate results when discussing the high rates of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and the growing threat from AIDS in the U.S--abstinence is offered as a foolproof, though impractical, solution.

As a matter of fact, condoms do protect against both unwanted pregnancy and the spread of STDs, a benefit which distinguishes condoms from other methods of birth control. By design they can, through consistent and widespread use, help to reduce the incidence of these unintended consequences of sexual activity without any contraindications.

Secondary arguments have also been advanced to bolster the position of pro-condom advertising activists. Support for broadcast condom advertising has been called for by various government agencies. In 1987, U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop fully endorsed the practice in testimony before the House subcommittee on Health and the Environment. Support was also extended by members of Congress in what appeared to be a direct response to the AIDS crisis, although not all members of the Health and Environment subcommittee, which examined the issue, expressed agreement (Colford, 1987).

The final two arguments in support of the airing of condom spots have been articulated in response to claims made by the opposition. The networks have defended their stance on enforcing morality and taste standards which they believe preclude condom advertisements as inappropriate for broadcast on network television. In response, condom advertising advocates point to the widespread discussion and depiction of sex on television as a clear violation of those very same standards of morality and taste. This has been debated in a media facilitated dialogue, with a spokesperson for the Television Information Office (TIO) suggesting there has never been a sexual act on broadcast television (Gersh, 1986). Taking the opposing position, Planned Parenthood cited studies which estimate the number of sexual references depicted on television in a year range from 9,000 to 20,000. Clearly how one defines sex on television is at the heart of this unbridgeable gap.

Finally, condom advertising proponents refer to the simple fact that the networks have included frank discussion of condom use to prevent unwanted pregnancy and the spread of AIDS in the storylines of TV programs they air (e.g., *Kate & Allie, Cagney & Lacey, St. Elsewhere, L.A. Law*) ("Network Shows," 1987). The networks also, begrudgingly, accept AIDS PSAs that pointedly warn viewers to use a condom.

The Opposing Position

In contrast to the pro-condom advertising position, the arguments advanced against condom advertising generally lack strong empirical evidence as support and, in some instances, are refuted by solid research. Unlike their opponents, to a great extent condom advertising foes depend on reasons founded on personal opinion and moral and religious philosophy to support their position.

Perhaps the most common argument made by the networks, and previously by the NAB, concerns the potential for offending the viewing public with condom (contraceptive) advertising. In 1980, in response to American Home Products' petition for NAB clearance for radio and television spots for its then new vaginal insert, Semicid, the NAB was pressured to conduct an opinion poll among a representative sample of 2,000 Americans (Giges, 1980). The results, released in early 1982, indicated that most Americans would find television advertising for contraceptives embarrassing. Nonetheless, Semicid advertisements were aired on several non-code television stations.

To be sure people find television advertising for many products offensive, irritating or embarrassing. This has been documented in a growing body of research literature. Aaker & Bruzzone (1981, 1985) looked at viewer perceptions of prime-time television advertising and found that most people were not irritated by the majority of advertisements. Still, a small number of advertisements were judged irritating by a moderate number (approximately 20%) of viewers, and it appears that a product class effect is primarily responsible. The advertisements considered most irritating were for personal products such as feminine hygiene products, stomach and hemorrhoid preparations and female undergarments.

Rehman and Brooks (1987) questioned a sample of 327 college students about advertising for controversial products, including contraceptives. Among advertisements for 12 products tested only men's and women's contraceptives were judged unacceptable for television by over 50% of respondents. Men and women differed significantly in their opinions, with 56% of men judging men's and women's contraceptive advertisements acceptable while just 36% of women felt they were acceptable. Ironically, nearly 80% of respondents were in favor of advertisements for early pregnancy tests!

More recently, Barnes and Dotson (1990) studied the issue on a larger scale. In mall-intercept interviews responses to a university sponsored survey of reactions to 21 recently aired local television commercials were gathered from 4,168 shoppers in the southeastern United States. Commercials for Trojan Condoms were ranked the most offensive followed closely by Summer's Eve Feminine Wash. O.B. Tampons, Light Days Panty Liners, Depend Undergarments and Preparation H advertisements were also ranked among the most offensive commercials. However, in their analysis the researchers noted:

> the commercials at the top of the list [ranked most offensive] were perceived to be only moderately offensive. Indeed, most of the commercials included in this study were given neutral or non-offensive scores. These results suggest that perhaps many of the critical comments about advertising may be from a vocal minority (Barnes & Dotson, p. 63).

Interestingly, in further analyses Barnes and Dotson found that perceptions of commercials for some products were a function of demographics such as age, gender, educational attainment and religious attendance. With regard to condoms, women, older people and regular church-goers found the Trojan advertisements to be more offensive than men, younger respondents and non-church goers. In comparison with past studies it is clear that many of the same products continue to elicit negative reactions years later. Public perceptions have apparently been slow to change.

The major issue for condom manufacturers is the networks' claim that the advertisements are offensive or "in poor taste." The evidence suggests that viewer perceptions of condom advertisements are hardly less favorable than their perceptions of other personal products that have already received clearance. In fact, research conducted by Louis Harris & Associates for Planned Parenthood suggests the majority of Americans are in favor of contraceptive advertising ("Harris Survey," 1987).

The Harris survey, based on a national sample polled in early 1987, revealed that 60% of the respondents felt contraceptives should be advertised on television (compared with 53% for beer and wine). Seventy-two percent of respondents indicated they would not be offended by contraceptive advertisements. This sentiment was held by a majority of all sample subgroups in the analysis such as respondents over 65 years, women, and those with lower levels of education and income.

Taken in total, the findings of these studies tend to refute the networks' claim that advertisements for condoms and other contraceptives are considered offensive (or any more offensive than advertisements for other personal products) by the American public. Moreover, the networks' contention that a sizeable minority of viewers opposed to contraceptive advertisements justifies a ban of the product category places them in an awkward position. Harris found that only 23% of respondents judged contraceptive advertisements unacceptable under any circumstances, compared with 39% for feminine hygiene products, a category that already meets network standards for acceptability. It appears the networks are inconsistent in their application of this guideline.

As the history of contraceptive advertising shows, the media and their self-regulatory bodies have often cited religion as a major reason why contraceptive advertisements are not permissible. The Catholic Church believes that the use of artificial birth control undermines church doctrine. Consequently, in response to a 1961 contraceptive print advertisement by Ortho Pharmaceutical, the Catholic Church editorialized in America, the national Catholic weekly, that accepting the ad reflected the lowering of publications' standards ("Contraceptive Advertising," 1961). In 1982, after the NAB had completed its attitudinal study in response to American Home Products' petition for clearance of the Semicid spots, the United States Catholic Conference reiterated its objection to contraceptive advertisements citing the Church's moral objection to contraception and perhaps more notably, the right of parents to educate their children with respect to sexuality (Mayer, 1982). Today, despite the social ills which condoms (and other contraceptives) can help to alleviate, the Church maintains its opposition to the promotion, dissemination and use of contraceptives. Its recent vocal stance against the distribution of condoms in New York City high schools exemplifies the Church's singlemindedness.

Perhaps more problematic for the Church is lay Catholics' widespread use of contraceptives and favorable attitude towards contraceptive advertisements on television. The Harris survey ("Harris Survey," 1987) showed that only 26% of the Catholic respondents would be offended by contraceptive advertisements on television, about the same percentage as the general population. Moreover, 87% of respondents indicated they had no religious or moral objection to contraception and just small minorities of Catholics and evangelical Christians voiced religious or moral objections. Nonetheless, the Church is steadfast in its position on birth control and remains an influential institution.

The claim that contraceptive advertising will promote promiscuity has been made by conservative interest groups. That argument is, however, weakened by the considerable evidence documenting already high rates of sexual activity among teens. Just a few years ago it was estimated that 53% of teenage girls were sexually active, compared with 47% in 1982 (Hilts, 1990). Moreover, the rate of unintended teenage pregnancy in the U.S. is double that of European youth and abortions among teens in the U.S. occur at a rate of 43.5 per 1,000 compared with 14.2 per 1,000 in Canada (Barringer, 1990; Hilts, 1990). So, while network executives have publicly taken the position that condom advertisements condone teenagers having sex ("Network Shows," 1987), clearly, there are other forces at work which influence teen's sexual behavior. And even if condom advertising in some way promotes sexual activity, at least that message is coupled with one emphasizing the need for protection.

Though cited relatively infrequently, the potential for offending other advertisers is another reason used by the networks to refuse contraceptive advertising clearance. Given the economic necessity of good relations with advertisers, this may be the true motivating factor for network rejection of the advertisements. Historically, advertiser pressure has been exerted in other media such as magazines (Alter, 1982). In 1969, Youngs Drug Products Corp., manufacturer of Trojans, placed soft-sell public service style advertisements emphasizing disease prevention with Sport magazine. After running in just a few issues the magazine was pressured by other advertisers, ironically from the tobacco and distilled-spirits industries, to pull them.

A more complete view of the process through which advertisers might come to pressure the broadcast media begins with the consumer. Advertisers are concerned with audience response to their commercials and that response may be affected by the environment in which the commercial is situated ("Is TV Becoming," 1988). If, for example, an advertiser is slotted on a program with an AIDS or unwanted pregnancy storyline that elicits public outcry (i.e., calls or letters of protest, media attention, etc.) they often become nervous about their participation. The same may also be true, as with the magazine example above, for sharing time on a program with advertisements for contraceptives.

There appears to be little empirical or anecdotal evidence of how advertisers feel about condom advertising on network television, but on the local level, where condom advertisements have become much more commonplace, there are apparently few complaints ("More Stations," 1987). Furthermore, in a case study of the decision-making and clearance process for condom advertising at NBC affiliate KRON-TV in San Francisco, Kaplan and Houlberg (1990) reported little negative reaction from viewers or advertisers.

Finally, the networks have, on occasion, claimed that they are already "doing enough" to provide information to adolescents about AIDS and the moral dilemma and unintended consequences of premarital sex. In meetings with Congress network executives have expressed the belief that their news and public affairs programming are adequate and more appropriate forums for dealing with the AIDS epidemic and the issue of unintended teenage pregnancy ("Congress Considers," 1987). Not coincidentally, at this same time the networks also formally adopted new prime-time programming standards allowing the mention of condoms and storylines about unwanted pregnancies ("Network Shows," 1987).

Discussion and Conclusions

Today, the Big 3 television networks continue to hold their position on the condom advertising issue. The clearance decision has been left to the discretion of broadcast licensees who are obligated to act in the interests of the community they serve. And, perhaps to the chagrin of the networks, the number of stations unwilling to air contraceptive advertisements appears to be small.

Wicks (1991) found in a survey of 476 television broadcasters that even though larger stations are more likely to refuse contraceptive advertisements (32%) than smaller stations (22%), most will consider them. Similarly, more profitable stations are also more likely to ban contraceptive advertisements than less profitable ones (32% compared to 20%). Nevertheless, network affiliates and even stations owned and operated by the networks have accepted condom spots ("More Stations," 1987).

The contraceptive (condom) advertising controversy has a history deserving of further consideration by advertising industry professionals and observers. Like many other controversial products (e.g., feminine hygiene products, hemorrhoid preparations, etc.), condoms and other contraceptive products have been restricted in their access to traditional consumer media. Early promotion of contraceptives was limited to mailings to physicians and pharmacists and advertising in medical journals ("Consumer Drive," 1961). Acceptance by consumer print and broadcast media was slow to come. Similarly, products like sanitary napkins and hemorrhoid medications initially encountered stiff resistance from the major media (Alter, 1982).

The NAB's 1972 decision to permit limited personal products advertising opened the door to network promotion for many controversial products (Alter, 1982). Twenty years later nearly all unmentionable products are advertised on network television, including incontinence products (adult-diapers), a relative newcomer to the list of product categories which elicit the greatest level of uneasiness and irritation among television viewers. Condoms, however, remain unacceptable for the networks.

When asked about the networks' inconsistency in their policies regarding personal products, spokespersons for the Television Information Office (TIO) have tried to explain the discrepancy (Gersh, 1986). In short, the TIO claims that the issue is not the tastefulness of contraceptive spots, it's that birth control is controversial in the U.S. and products like tampons are not. It appears then, at least according to the TIO's understanding of the networks' reasons, that the religious/moral forces remain among the most potent.

The Fox network and local stations have tried to beg the religion/morality issue by accepting only condom advertisements which emphasize disease prevention. The same is also true for many print vehicles. While the Church and other conservative groups may still find the advertisements inappropriate, they are less likely to attack the advertisements based on the Church's disagreement with condom use as a means of birth control. If it is Church and interest group pressure (e.g., Moral Majority) that keeps the networks from clearing condom advertisements, the networks could adopt this standard for acceptance.

With regard to the condom advertising debate, the pro-condom advertising forces do have, based on empirical evidence, a stronger case for their position. In fact, some of the claims made by the networks are spurious, leaving the objective reader with little choice but to side with condom advertising proponents. However, this review also clarifies that the fundamental disagreement is not based on empirical evidence, but on a seemingly irreconcilable morality gap. The extent to which the differences on the condom advertising issue can be resolved depends on the willingness of contraceptive advertising foes to compromise on their beliefs and values. While the networks may eventually accept condom spots, it seems unlikely this will occur as a result of compromise.

To critics, condom marketers and their advertising agencies, by accepting advertisements for other personal products, airing programming permeated by sexual references and building forthright discussion of condoms into storylines, the networks are sending a "green light" message which their standards departments quickly turn to red. This represents the cultural hypocrisy of network self-regulation, a charge often levied by condom advertising proponents.

For years the NAB and the networks have responded vaguely to clearance requests with allusions to expected policy revisions based on changing social standards. Yet, change still does not appear to be in the offing. Perhaps the networks have little incentive to accept condom advertisements. Given current levels of advertising expenditures the product category would not make a large contribution to network revenues. That, weighed against the potential for becoming embroiled in a heated controversy, may be sufficient cause to maintain the status quo. But, the stakes are higher than ever before. Maybe the time has come for the networks to take a stand for the silent majority and consider the good of the many over the potential outrage of the few.

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A New Framework for the Study of Advertising Creative Appeals

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A New Framework for the Study of Advertising Creative Appeals

Crucial to the success of an advertising campaign is the choice of creative appeal. The appeal is the message of the ad, designed toward the fullfilment of human motives, needs and desires. This "'Creative work,' the process of conceiving, writing, designing, and producing ads, is the heart and soul of advertising," according to Berkman and Gilson (1980). The appeal of the ad can motivate consumers to buy or not interest them at all. It can generate attitude change, preference or "liking"; or it can alienate. As defined by Wells, Burnett and Moriarty (1989), the appeal is "something that moves people."

This "creative concept" or "creative approach" is, in effect, the essence of the communicated message and essential to its success. Other than Pollay's pioneering effort in 1983, there has been little methodology developed for the classification and study of the wide range of creative appeals themselves. Recent interest in the development of new typologies is encouraging.

It is important to note that in this study the creative appeal is defined as being the advertising message itself, distinct from the advertising technique that is used to convey that message. For example, television ads by British actor John Cleese for Sony and other high tech companies have used humor to send serious messages about technological capabilities of the products. In this case the humor is employed as an attention-getting technique. The humor is not the message.

Separating message from technique is essential in the study of advertising creative appeals. Past studies have not always clarified this distinction.

Advertising researchers have usually studied creative appeals individually (such as the study of "fear" or "humor") or in specific market instances that allow for quantifiable results. Few studies have concentrated upon the general nature of the appeals or attempted to classify them with a category system that is both mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Those that have attempted to classify appeals have approached the problem from a variety of differing perspectives and arrived at frameworks or models that tend to be fragmentary rather than exhaustive.

There is need for a simple general research methodology that can readily answer the following types of questions: Among all advertising appeals, what is the usage rate of specific appeals? Which are most common? How does appeals usage differ between media? Which advertising appeals are most often used in specific media? Do television commercials on network TV tend to use "price" appeals more than any other? How often are "status" appeals used in consumer magazine advertising?

The development of a category system to study advertising appeals can be useful to both the scholar studying appeals usage from a cultural perspective and the copywriter who writes the ads.

This article suggests a new classification system for use in studying advertising creative appeals as a whole, and then applies that instrument in a pilot study of trade journal advertising over six decades, 1932 - 1987.

Literature Review

Research into advertising creative appeals might be grouped into four general categories:

1. Analysis of a specific appeal
2. Analysis of specific product situations
3. Analysis of appeals as they apply to specific parts of the creative process in advertising
4. Differing perspectives on appeals in general

1. The most commonly studied specific appeals are fear (Ray and Wilkie 1970; Wheatley 1971; Kay 1972; Spence and Moinpour 1972; Burnett and Wilkes 1980) and humor (Lynch and Hartman 1968; Whipple and Courtney 1981; Madden and Weinberger 1982; Duncan and Nelson 1985; Zinkhan and Gelb 1987; Scott, Klein and Bryant 1990). For a complete discussion of humor and a new framework for the study of humorous ads read Paul Surgi Speck's work in Current Issues & Research in Advertising, Vol. 13, 1990.

2. The study of specific product situations makes it easy for a researcher to quantify results, but also makes generalizations difficult. For example, Cosse and Swan studied the specific appeals of power and safety in automobile advertising (1981). And, although Gronhaug and Rostvig (1978) found that "even modest differences in the messages may produce very different reactions", it is difficult to extract a general principle from research into an area as specific as the selling of knitting yarn.

Some studies have concentrated on developing typologies for only certain media. For example, Laskey, Day and Crask categorized message strategies for television commercials (1989).

3. Other research deals with specific elements of the creative process. For example, Beltramini and Blasko (1986) studied the appeals used in the headlines of award-winning ads. Feasley and Stuart (1987) studied advertising layout design and categorized graphic approaches and styles.

4. Several areas of past research apply to varying aspects of creative appeals while using different perspectives and nomenclature. These include studies into "motivation", "benefit segmentation", "need gratification", and "attitude segmentation".

Benefit segmentation studies (Haley 1971, 1984; Green, Wind and Jain 1972; Green, Krieger and Schaffer 1985) concentrate upon the construction of a "benefit bundle" for a specific product situation. One of the most promising developments is a new computer system by Green, Krieger and Schaffer (1985) called "Bundos", which breaks out the benefits for specific products.

Several studies have categorized appeals into broad arbitrary segments and then compared them. Sawyer (1973) divided appeals into those considered "refutational" and those that are "supportive" and then compared the effects of their repetition. Woodside (1968) used David Riesman's work on inner-outer directedness as it might be applied to advertising appeals. Preston and Bowen (1971) studied the "rationality-irrationality" of advertisements and determined that "designations of rationality and emotionality may be used as predictors of various advertising effects." Lynn (1974) divided appeals into four parts: logical, emotional, source attribute, and fear. He then studied these appeals in public service advertising. The categories lack exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity, but the development of a general category system was not Lynn's purpose.

An increasing number of researchers have concentrated upon the emotional aspects of advertising appeals. Early research was almost exclusively concerned with the cognitive or informational aspect.

Aaker, Stayman and Hagerty (1986) studied "warmth", and Zeitlin and Westwood (1986) applied Plutchik's theory that there are only eight primary emotions to the development of the measurement of emotion in television commercials. For a complete review of studies in the affective aspects of advertising see Wiles and Cornwell (1990).

Bowen and Chaffee (1974) defined the "pertinence" of advertising appeals as "the comparative discrimination a person makes between two objects in a situation where he is evaluating alternatives."

All of the above studies are in some way related to the creative appeal that an ad sends to a consumer. However, none provides an instrument for an exhaustive descriptive study of the wide range of appeals in general.

Textbook Attempts to Classify Appeals

Some advertising textbooks contain a partial list of appeals or a representative sample (Tipper, Hollingworth and Hotchkiss 1925; Bedell 1952; Kirkpatrick 1964; Crawford 1966; Burton 1974; Baker 1979; Wells, Burnett and Moriarty 1989; Russell and Lane 1990). For example, Bovee and Arens widely used text, Contemporary Advertising, lists 42 "selected" advertising appeals (1989, p. 256).

Other texts discuss only certain aspects of the appeals. Zacher (1967) divides appeals along Abraham Maslow's (1970) theory of "primary" or lower wants and "secondary" or higher wants. Starch (1914) discusses "suggestive copy" and "argumentative copy" as dominant considerations. Wright (1966), in a similar approach to Zacher (1967), compares primary and secondary needs, and then lists "buying motives," a list of appeals that are largely pragmatic in nature.

Some of the older advertising textbooks contain a more complete discussion of advertising appeals. Nylen's text (1974) divides appeals into a complex system of opposites: emotional-rational, need arousing-need satisfying, positive-negative, selective (against competitors) -primary (generating demand for a product class), with the fear appeal discussed separately.

An extensive discussion is found in a 1926 text by Lloyd D. Herrold. Herrold breaks advertising appeals into four main categories: emotional arguments, acquired interest (such as "cleanliness", "economy"), logical reasoning and rationalizations (justifications for non-reasoned behavior). It is difficult, however, to draw the lines between categories. For example, an "emotional" appeal could also be a "rationalization"; an "acquired interest" such as "economy" could also be called "logical reasoning".

From a different perspective, William Weilbacher (1979) divides advertising appeals into three main areas: product or service-related appeals; consumer-related appeals; and nonconsumer, nonproduct appeals. A concern in this analysis is the line of demarcation between categories. Dividing the appeals into groups along the lines of either product or consumer orientation seems to change the perspective of the issue. Are not all appeals consumer oriented? If the message is not intrinsically interesting to the consumer, then one might question its effectiveness as an ad.

Research Based upon the Concept of "Values"

Since the cultural consequences of advertising have long been topics of concern to advertising's scholars and critics, considerable effort has gone into the study of advertising "values", with "values" defined as characteristics or "properties of objects, individuals, or communities that make them good, worthy, or respectable" (Pollay 1983, p. 72).

This approach to the study of advertising creative messages begins with a determination of what human beings value, then looks for these values in the ad messages. Pollay's excellent work (1983) is the first research to construct an exhaustive classification system of appeals and apply it in a study. Pollay takes Rokeach's (1973) lists of 18 "instrumental" and 18 "terminal" human values and modifies them to develop a coding instrument involving 47 human values (examples: modesty, healthy, family, cheap, popular, convenient, enjoyment, etc.).

This presents, however, a cumbersome instrument. Since it classifies advertising creative appeals into 47 different categories, it requires a coder to determine a clear distinction between each. With such a complex system, general conclusions about appeals usage and trends are quite difficult.

By its very definition, the study of values in advertising brings a perspective to the problem that risks a tainting of the issues involved. The determination of the values brings with it the inherent problem of value judgements. Because the research into values in advertising starts with what people say they value or evidently value, the process is colored with preconceptions before it even begins.

Advertising is a business whose purpose is to sell goods and services. Messages are sent that the copywriter believes will motivate people to buy the advertised product or service, whether or not that product is seen as "good, worthy or respectable" in society at large.

Values analysis in advertising may tend toward underestimating the negative motivations of consumers and their impulsive nature. People say they "value" a thin body, but may overeat when depressed. Women "value" modesty, but purchase risque nightgowns. Someone "values" being thrifty, but spends a weekend in lavish living at a ski resort on a fling. Consumer research has shown for years that many of the motivations behind purchasing decisions are selfish, egotistical, possessive, acquisitive, or often "bad", not "good". Yet Clyde Kluckhohn in Values In America (1961) describes human values as "a set of hierarchically ordered prescriptions and proscription", without which "...human behavior could be described by a list of instincts and a probabilistic calculus. Human life would become a sequence of reactions to unconfigurated stimuli" (P. 20). Now there is an interesting definition of advertising itself - "unconfigurated stimuli" - and many consumers do indeed react in much that way. Walking down the grocery aisle, George impulsively grabs a Hostess Cupcake that is displayed on sale, even though he is 30 pounds overweight and just ate lunch.

In general, values research may be assuming a more rational, value-oriented consumer than is, in fact, the reality.

A New Framework for the Study of Advertising Creative Appeals

A pragmatic perspective seems most appropriate for the study of advertising appeals. Why not classify the appeal that the senders or encoders intend? After all, the advertising copywriters create the messages, they should know much about what they are and which ones they might use.

The new research instrument suggested in this study takes a compilation of the existing appeals used in advertising (from the ad copywriter's perspective and terminology) and categorizes them into a motivational framework (from the consumer, or receiver's perspective), in order to develop a tool for their systematic study.

All advertising appeals are, in fact, consumer oriented, to the extent that they are all designed to communicate a message to the reader, listener, or viewer of the ad. The receiver of the ad message is the only one whose response is crucial to the success of the advertising. To understand the effectiveness or intent of the appeal, one must take into account both the viewpoint of the sender and of the receiver of the message.

In 1968 John Maloney proposed a marketing framework that takes the viewpoint of the consumer (Britt 1968). Designed as a classification of consumer motivations, it could be adapted to the study of advertising creative appeals. Maloney listed "four minimal classifications of motivational appeals considered important for marketing decision-making." Britt (1968) describes each category:

1. Rational Appeal (strict presentation of factual information) based on a problem-solving premise that people must have some facts to go on and that their likes and dislikes grow out of cognitive or factual aspects of attitudes.

2. Sensory Appeal (promise of good taste, good smell, good feeling) - based on the reward-punishment learning theories of psychology; and stress the pleasure principle, that most human behavior consciously or unconsciously is directed toward seeking pleasure or avoiding pain.

3. Social Appeal (promise of prestige, love, acceptance, and related rewards) - recognizes people's needs to be approved, loved, admired, or at least accepted by others.

4. Ego-Attitude Support (bolstering of self-image) - serves to fulfill one's need to define one's own role and recognizes one's own worth, without undue concern for the approval of others.

Wimmer and Dominick (1987) state that "to be serviceable, all category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable" (p. 177). The above four-category system appears to meet these stringent qualifications. Contemporary Advertising, a popular advertising text used in over 100 colleges, lists 42 common advertising appeals (Bovee and Arens 1989, p. 256). All could be classified in Maloney's framework with ease.

Maloney's framework encompasses the other scholarly approaches. Nearly all fit rather well into one of Maloney's categories. The studies cited in the literature review all fit into Maloney's system.

A Modification of Maloney's Framework

If we were to take a list of the appeals that modern advertising copywriters use in their craft and divide it into Maloney's four-category framework, the result would be something like that seen in Table 1.

Maloney's "rational" appeals offer functional solutions to basic, everyday problems of living. Appeals in this category help us make our lives secure, easier, more efficient, productive and economical. This category would also include Maslow's (1970) physiological or lower-level needs for food, clothing, shelter, etc.

Sensory appeals include the pleasure emanating from aesthetics, along with all human senses. Therefore ads that appeal to us because of beautiful photography or illustration would fall into this category, along with any other appeal to the senses, both pleasurable and painful.

The many advertisements trying to convince us that we should use a certain product because it is "#1" apply to our sense of what our peers are doing and would be categorized as "social appeals", along with the more obvious appeals dealing with acceptance by others. Likewise, social appeals include those appeals to our sense of concern and responsibility for others.

Status seeking or materialistic motivations are the realm of Maloney's "ego-attitude support" appeals. And Maslow's (1970) higher needs fall into this category (self-actualization, etc.)

Using Maloney's four categories, expanding it conceptually, one might break down a list of traditional advertising appeals as shown in Table 1. This is the instrument to be applied in a pilot study.

The Study

The print media offer the simplest test of our new framework of advertising appeals as a coding instrument to study their use. A print ad gives a researcher only one static "frame" to study, therefore simplifying the process.

The complications in studying 30 seconds of television or radio commercials will be left for future efforts.

Trade publications were chosen for this initial study. Since some of the most interesting questions about advertising appeals concern their usage over time, three trade journals were each studied over a fifty year period: Engineering News-Record (1932-1982), Electronics (1937-1987), and Chemical Week (1937-1987). The three journals each met four basic requirements: large circulation, at least a fifty year history, representation of broad industrial categories, and availability. The three publications represent distinct, yet broadly defined professional areas: engineering and construction, electronics, and the chemical industry.

Methodology

Each trade publication was studied at ten year intervals, beginning with a random choice of January, February or March. The first issue of every third month was then sampled. At least 12 ads were coded for each issue, beginning with the "second cover" ad (the ad on the inside of the cover page) and ending with the "fourth cover" ad (back cover). Every third ad was coded. Only full page or multiple page ads were studied. (Note: since early issues had few ads, all ads in each issue were often coded in the early decades of the study.)

The author and two female research assistants coded all advertisements. To assess coding reliability, all three coded the same 10 ads. The three coders were in complete agreement on the choice of appeal category on 75% of the ads, with two out of three coders agreeing on the choice of creative appeal category 80% of the time. The coders then met in several sessions to discuss disagreements and standardize coding procedure. Thirteen new ads were then coded, resulting in 84.4% complete agreement on appeal category, with two out of three coders agreeing upon choice of appeal category on 12 out of 13 ads (92.3%). Holsti's formula to assess intercoder reliablity yields these results: Coder 1/Coder 2 - .77, Coder 1/Coder 3 - .69, Coder 2/Coder 3 - .69.

A total of 899 ads were analyzed and coded during the study.

Results

The most striking result of this study is the dominance of the rational/functional appeal category across all five decades (see Table 2). Although one might surmise that trade journal ads would use the functional appeals often, the consistency of their usage is surprising. During the entire 55-year period, 71% of all ads used a rational/functional appeal, with a low of 65% (in the 1930's and the 1970's) and a high of 78% (in the 1960's).

Of the three remaining categories, the social appeals were most often in use, representing 15% of all ads studied.

Usage of social appeals shows a somewhat consistent pattern, averaging between 10% and 15% each decade, with the exception of the 1940's, when they are used twice as often (see Table 3). Almost a third (30%) of all ads in the 1940's used a social appeal.

The use of "ego-attitude support" appeals is the least consistent over time, varying from 0% in the 1940's, to highs of 18% in the 1930's and 17% of all ads in the 1970's.

The fourth category, sensory appeals, is the least used, averaging only 3% of all ads studied. No ads studied from the 1940's used a sensory approach, with a high of 5% of the ads using a sensory approach in the 1970's. This might be explained by the fact that trade journals by definition are oriented toward the reader's profession and are therefore more serious in tone than consumer magazines that might be read for entertainment and amusement.
An application of this category system to consumer magazines would likely generate a much higher percentage of sensory appeals.

Specific Appeals Within Each Category

Rational/functional Appeals:

Within the rational/functional category of appeals, the dominant specific appeal used was based upon product/service features (see Table's 4 & 7). 66% of all ads used this specific functional appeal. The main message of these ads was a factual presentation of one or more of the features of the product, service, or company advertised.

The decade of the 1950's shows significant differences in rational/functional appeals usage. The use of product/service features is at its lowest - 51%, with the appeal of saving money at its highest - 13%. Other specific appeals that show their highest usage level over the 50-year period include "personal productivity" - 5%, and "safety" - 5%. "News" is also among its highest usage level in the 1950's.- 18% of all rational/functional appeals. These ads emphasize the introduction of new products/services, features, or technologies. Cultural changes in the U.S. might explain these changes in appeals usage. In the postwar 1950"s, with Hitler defeated, northamericans got back to business and "progress", represented by the "news" appeal, became more of a concern.

Sensory Appeals:

Sensory appeals were not used often enough for a breakdown of their specific appeals to be significant (see Table 8). In most cases, the percentages represent only one or a very few ads. Neither is there any consistency of usage from decade to decade. Only 12 of the 899 ads studied over the 55-year period were found to use a sensory appeal.

Social Appeals

Only three social appeals were used significantly and their usage shows little consistency (see Tables 5 & 9). The appeal of "popularity" was dominant, averaging 52% of all social appeals used across the six decades, with highs of 89% in the 1960's and 83% in the 1950's. In this study "popularity" was defined as an appeal that was based upon a company or product describing itself as the most popular or most often used. Any advertising appeal that stressed that the product, company or service was "#1" was also included in this category. The use of the "popularity" appeal drops significantly in the 1970's, representing only 11% of all social appeals in that decade.

The appeal of "social responsibility" averages 36% of all social appeals, with a high of 89% in the 1970's and a low of 8% in the 1950's. "Social responsiblity" appeals were defined as those related to a concern for others and their welfare. Many current ads about environmental problems would be included in this category of appeals.

Patriotism is the third most-used social appeal, with a high of 36% of all social appeals used in the 1940's. The use of "patriotism" as an advertising appeal then disappears for three decades (1950, 1960, 1970) and reemerges in the 1980's as 17% of all social appeals.

In the 1940's patriotism is the most often used social appeal.

The appeals of "romantic incentive" and "being accepted by others" are used only sparingly in the decade of the

1950's. An application of this category system to the ads in consumer magazines, rather than trade journals would more than likely find a much higher use of these specific social appeals.

Ego/attitude appeals

Appeals to "excellence or leadership" in a status-like manner were the most common ego appeals, reaching highs of 100% of all ego appeals in the 1950's and 85% in the 1970's. They were not used at all in the 1940's.

No other ego appeal was used significantly. "Career success" appears as an appeal in the 1960's (33%) and 1980's (22%), but in no other decades.

It is interesting to note that being "progressive or modern" appears in the 1930's, but in no other decade.

The 1960's show significant changes in ego/attitude appeals usage. Appeals to excellence decrease, as appeals to career success and materialism increase. Materialistic appeals appear only in the 1960's and in no other decade. By the 1970's, appeals to excellence are on the rise again and materialism and career success again have decreased.

Discussion

Table 3 shows the trends in usage of the four appeal categories over the six decades. It is important to note that appeals usage is not consistent over time, even in the trade journal medium, where ads might be considered to be quite consistent in nature. Major changes in appeal usage appear in the decades of the 1940's and the 1970's. Social changes in the United States may account for these changes in advertising appeals usage.

The 1940's include the years of World War II when the U.S. government was encouraging support of the war effort. Many of these 1940 advertisements were sending messages based upon the social concerns of working together as a nation to combat Germany and Japan in the war. Note that the use of social appeals peaks in the 1940's, while the use of sensory appeals is at an all-time low.

The decade of the 1970's is also notable for changing the pattern of appeals usage. Referred to by many as the "me decade", dominated by materialistic and career concerns, the 1970's represent the highest usage of ego-attitude support appeals and the lowest usage level for the rational/functional appeals. Along with the 1980's, the 1970's also represent the lowest usage of social appeals over the 55-year period of the study. The 1970's is also the decade when the use of sensory appeals is at its highest level. The use of sensory and ego-attitude support appeals to try to sell merchandise to those concerned with materialistic success would seem to be a logical advertising approach.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to develop an instrument for use in the analysis of advertising's creative appeals. Let's apply the three tests of Wimmer and Dominick (1987) to this new category system: mutual exclusivity, exhaustiveness, and reliability.

In terms of its mutual exclusivity, this new four-category system presented few difficulties for the coders. Most ads were found to fit rather well into one of the four categories, without undue deliberation. It should be noted, however that some ads, by their very nature, defy categorization. Humor, for example, is one of the most commonly researched appeals in advertising. It is listed as a sensory appeal since one enjoys the humor in an emotional sense. One might argue, however, that humor is a necessity for healthful living and therefore is a rational/functional appeal. Humor is particularly difficult because it is often the technique of the ad and not the message.

The line between "social appeals" and "ego-attitude support" appeals is also sometimes difficult to draw in a specific instance. But this is a matter of training the coders. The difference may be understood by viewing "ego-attitude support appeals" as motivations involving the ego that are without undue concern for others, while social appeals involve a sense of social caring about our peers. Further use of the category system will refine the differences between categories.

In terms of its exhaustivity, this new instrument was most efficient. Coders had no difficulty placing an ad into at least one of the four categories. The "other" category was very rarely used.

Reliability is a larger problem. Although coder reliability figures were adequate, they were not in the high range. Since ads often contain multiple messages, the most difficult issue in their coding was the determination of the dominant message among, in some cases, several possibilities. This is a problem, however, not just with this category system, but with any analysis of the creative appeals of advertising. Individual coders, like individual consumers, apply their distinctive backgrounds and unique characteristics to the determination of the meaning of the message in the ad. Since an advertisement sends a message to thousands or millions of unique individuals, no ad has just one meaning for all.

The strength of this new category system is its flexibility. Advertising is a creative and ever-changing animal, and as new appeals become evident, they can be added as specifics under the four broad categories. Certainly the specific list of appeals within each category will need further modification.

Use of this new category system in a pilot study in trade journals appears to support its usefulness as an instrument to study the creative appeals of advertising. Results of the study show significant changes in appeals usage that appear to coincide with cultural changes in U.S. society. Further application of this instrument in the study of advertising creative appeals will help to refine and modify it.

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Table 1

The Creative Appeals of Advertising

I. RATIONAL/FUNCTIONAL APPEALS

(These appeals offer solutions to basic, everyday problems of living; making life more secure, efficient, economical, and rational.)

1. Hunger, thirst
2. Shelter, security
3. Health (both mental and physical)
4. Safety
5. Sex (as a biological necessity)
6. News, information
7. Saving money
8. Saving time
9. Product or service qualities that make our lives better: (quality, dependability, durability, ease-of-use, effectiveness, etc.)
10. Personal productivity, efficency, effectiveness (for example: cleanliness, orderliness, etc.)
11. Risk reduction (guarantees,etc.)
12. Other

II. SENSORY/AESTHETIC APPEALS

(These appeals stress the pleasure or pain of experience with the product or service. Includes all appeals to anticipated sensory or aesthetic pleasures in life.)

1. Pleasure/pain from touch (includes affection)
2. Pleasure/pain from taste
3. Pleasure/pain from smell
4. Pleasure/pain from sound
5. Pleasure/pain from sight (including visual or artistic beauty)
6. Pleasure/pain from emotions
7. Pleasure/pain from sexual feelings
8. Pleasure/pain from activities
9. Fear (avoiding pain, guilt or unpleasantness)
10. Comfort
11. Entertainment
12. Curiosity/novelty
13. Humor
14. Other

Table 1 continued

III. SOCIAL APPEALS

(Social appeals deal with people's needs for approval and acceptance by others, and also an individual's sense of responsibility for the welfare of others.)

1. Product or service popularity (testimonials, "we're #1", etc.)
2. Romantic incentive
3. Being accepted by others
4. Patriotism
5. Social responsibility (courtesy, cooperation, sympathy, environmental concerns, etc.)
6. Enjoyable social activity (having a good time with others)
7. Other

IV. EGO-ATTITUDE SUPPORT

(Ego appeals serve to fulfill one's need to define oneself and recognize one's worth, without undue concern for the approval of others.)

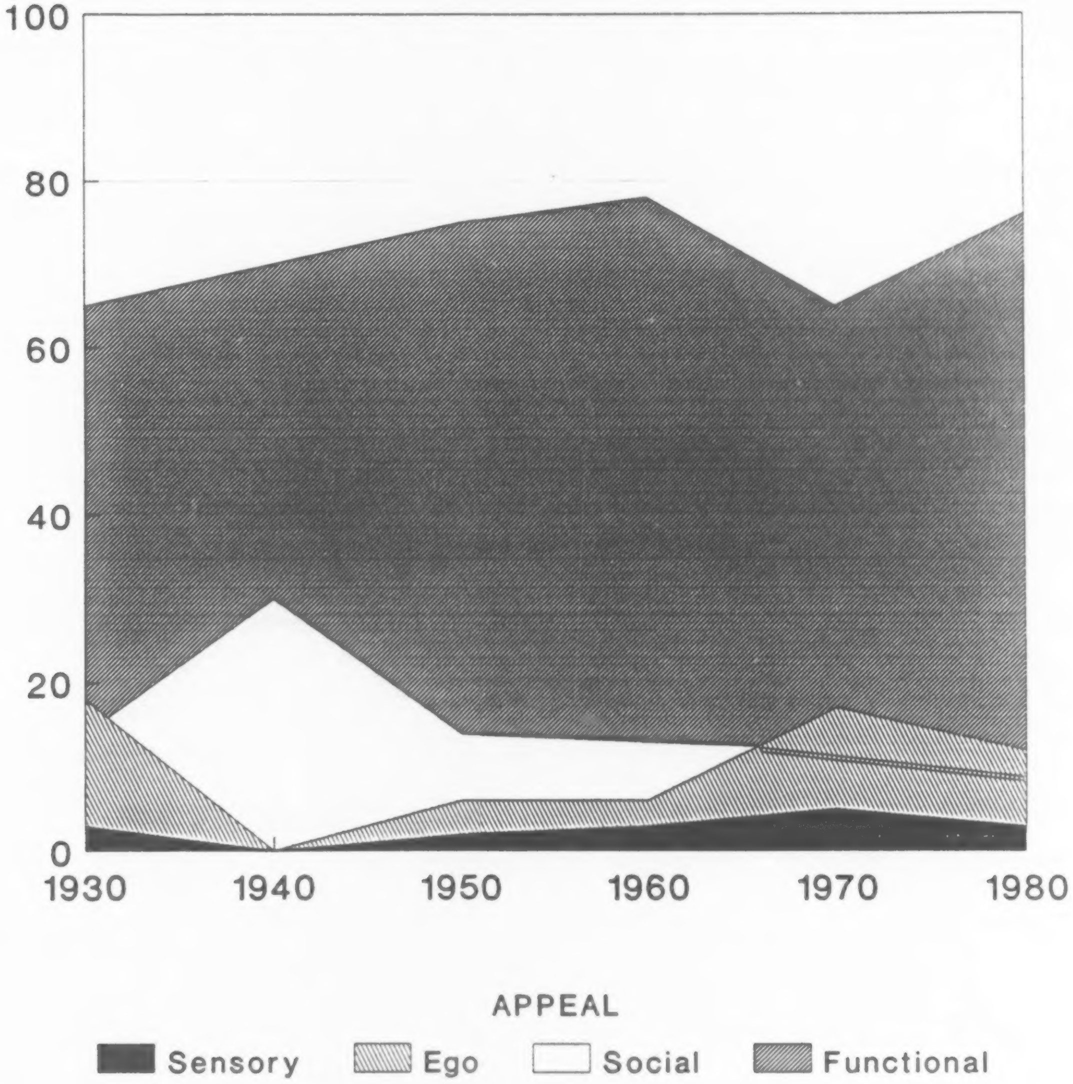
1. Materialism (acquisition of goods, "getting rich")
2. Status or prestige (pride)
3. Individualism (standing out from the crowd)
4. Career success (yuppies, upward mobile)
5. Self enhancement (other than career)
6. Defining role or lifestyle
7. Self-fulfillment (Maslow's "self-actualization")
8. Excellence or leadership
9. Progressive (modern)
10. Other

Table 2
Advertising Creative Appeals
Percent Use by Decade

Appeal Category	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	Average	Intercept	Slope	R-Square
Functional	65	70	75	78	65	76	71	66.14	1.19	.16
Sensory	3	0	2	3	5	3	3	1.95	.25	.16
Social	14	30	14	13	12	10	15	25.55	-2.26	.34
Ego	18	0	6	6	17	12	12	14.11	-.47	.02

Table 3

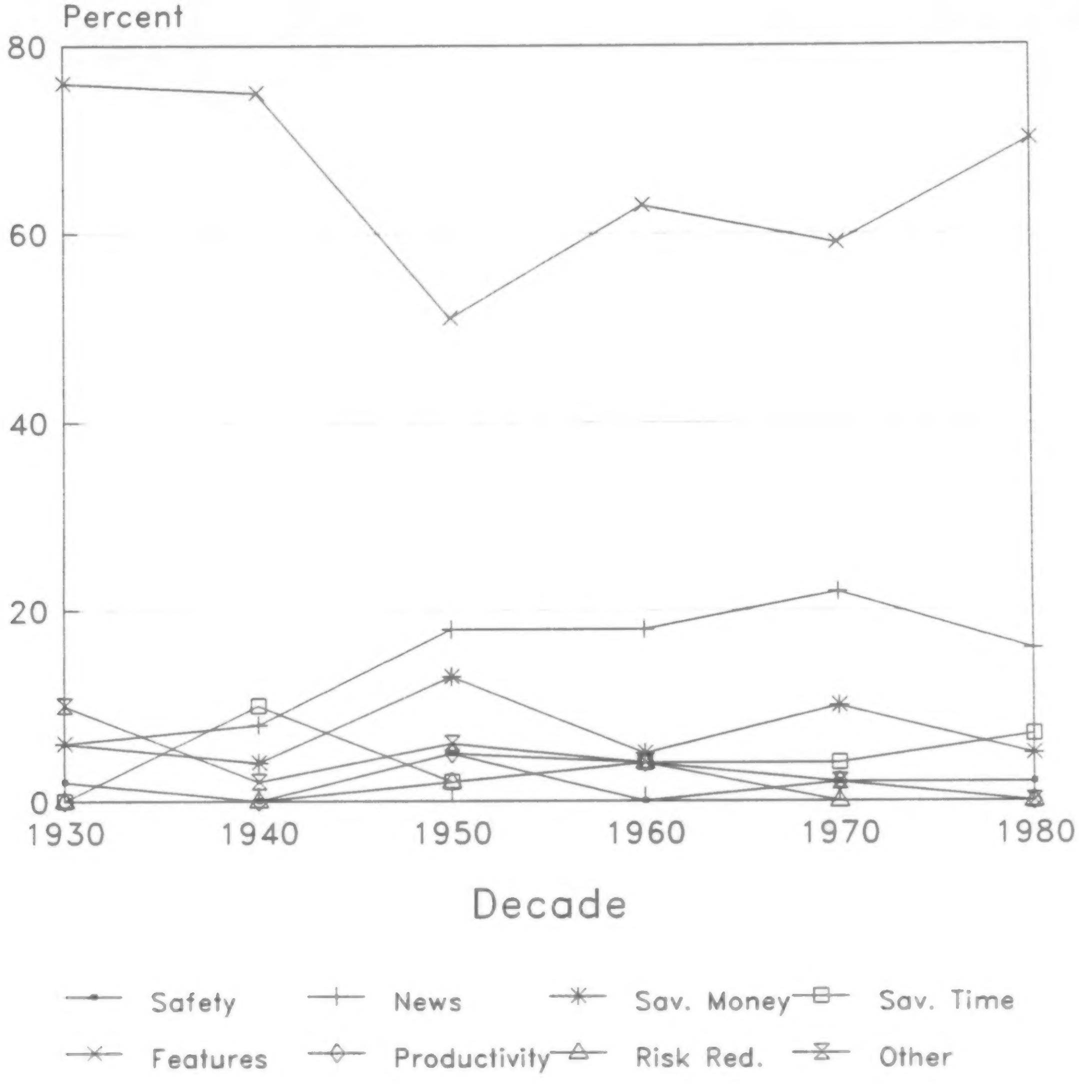
Advertising Creative Appeals



Percent Use by Decade

Table 4

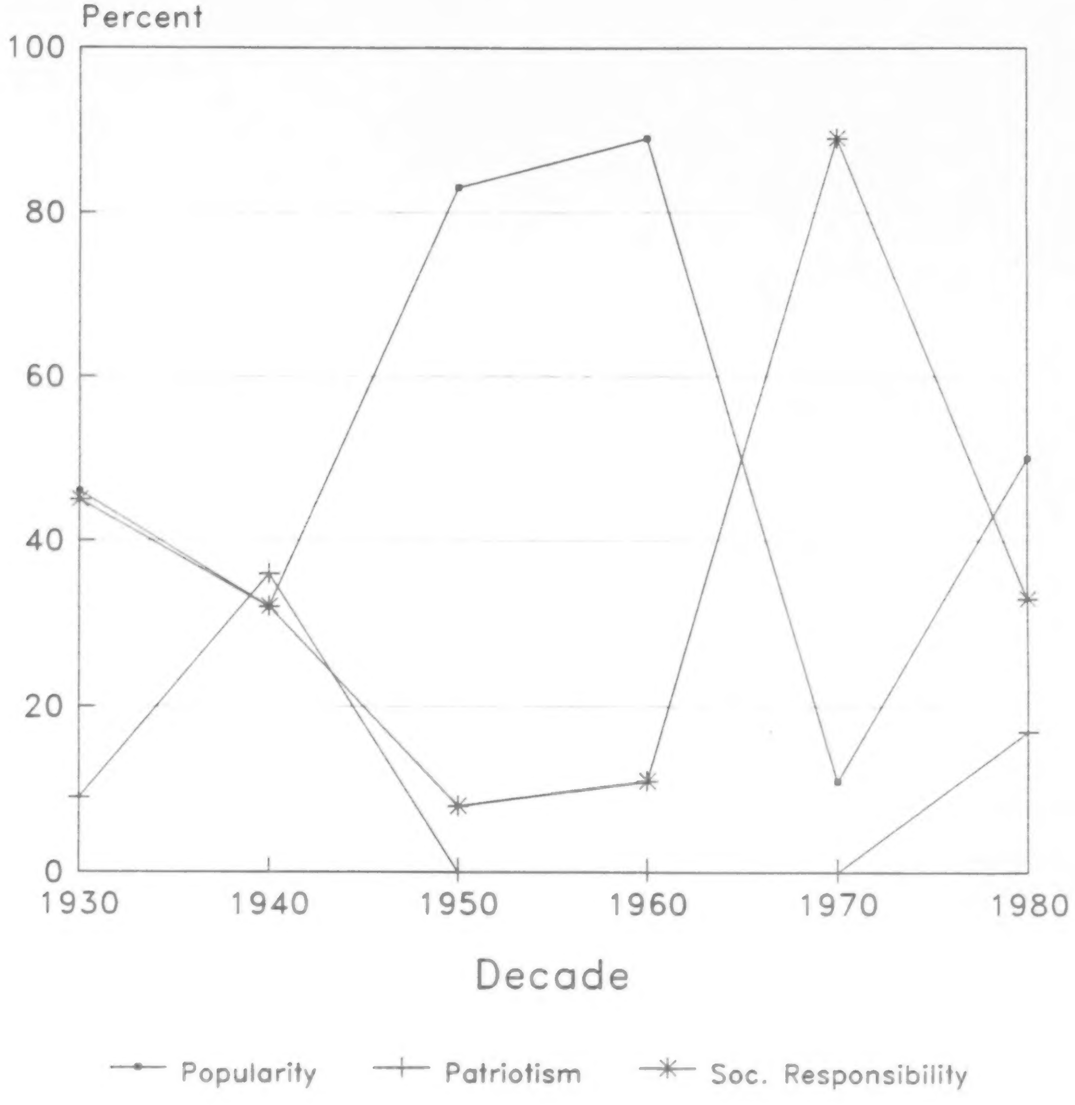
Functional Appeals



Percent Use by Decade

Table 5

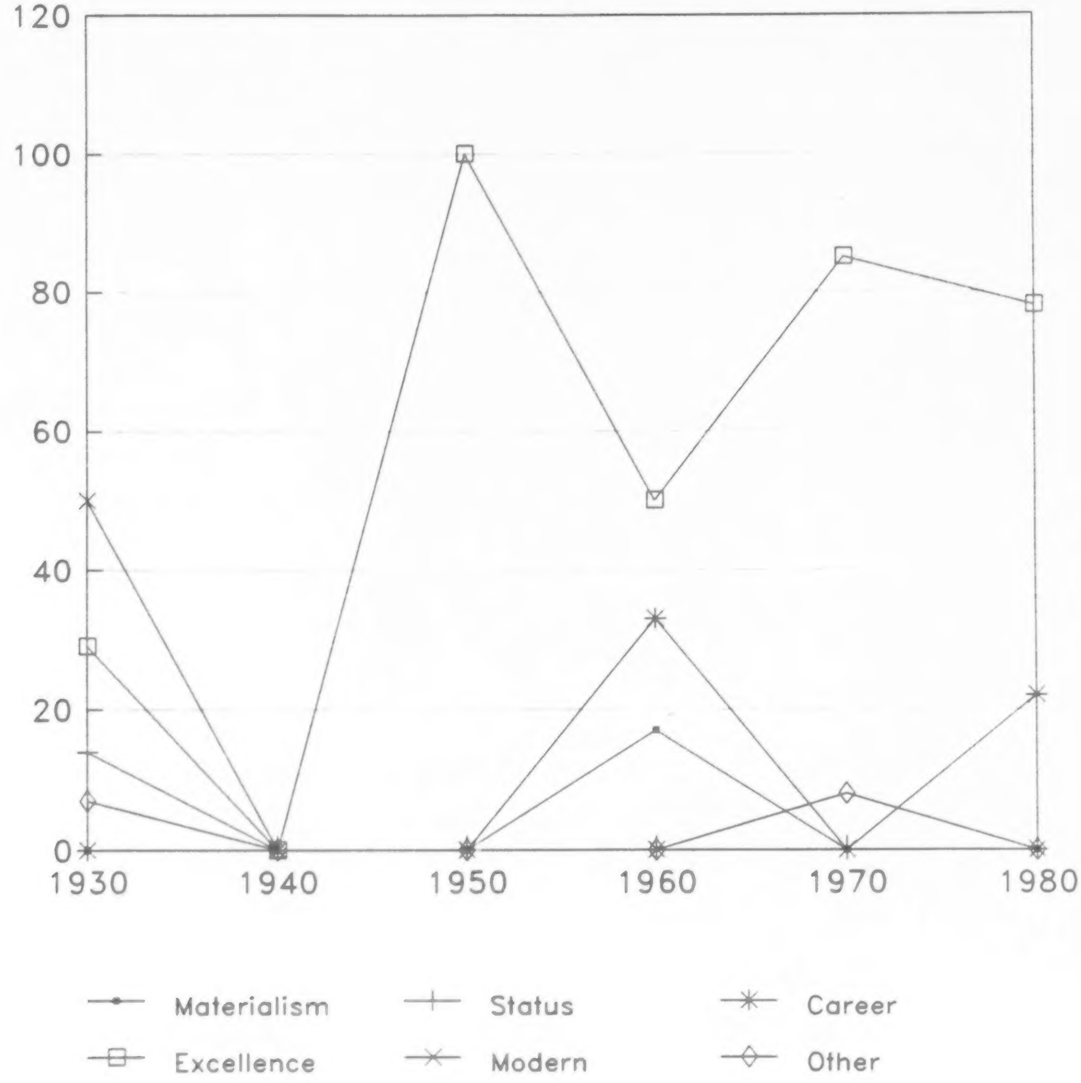
Social Appeals



Percent Use by Decade

Table 6

Ego\Attitude Appeals



Percent Use by Decade

Table 7
Functional Appeals
Percent Use by Decade

Appeal Category	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	Average	Intercept	Slope	R-Square
Hunger/Thirst	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shelter/Security	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Safety	2	0	5	0	2	2	2	3.48	-.18	.078
Sex	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News	6	8	18	18	22	16	15	2.69	2.59	.62
Saving Money	6	4	13	5	10	5	7	6.28	.19	.01
Saving Time	0	10	2	4	4	7	4.5	6.56	-.29	.02
Product/Services Features	76	75	51	63	59	70	66	74.05	-1.87	.13
Personal Productivity	0	0	5	4	2	0	2	10.41	-1.40	.99
Risk Reduction	0	0	2	4	0	0	1	-6.10	1.92	1.00
Information/Other	10	2	6	4	2	0	4	10.55	-1.45	.44

Table 8
SensoryAppeals
Percent Use by Decade

Appeal Category	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	Average	Intercept	Slope	R-Square	Frequency of Ads
Pleasure From Touch	0	0	0	0	25	0	-	25	0	0	1
Pleasure From Taste	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pleasure From Smell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pleasure From Sound	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pleasure From Beauty	100	0	0	100	0	50	-	126.32	-9.21	.64	4
Pleasure From Emotion	0	0	0	0	0	50	-	50	0	0	1
Pleasure From Sexual Feelings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avoiding Pain/Fear	0	0	50	0	25	0	-	100	-12.5	1	2
Comfort	0	100	0	0	25	0	-	175	-25	1	2
Entertainment/Curiosity/ Novelty	0	0	50	0	0	0	-	50	0	0	1
Humor	0	0	0	0	25	0	-	25	0	0	1
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 9
Social Appeals
Percent Use by Decade

Appeal Category	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	Aver-age	Inter-cept	Slope	R-Square
Popularity	46	32	83	89	11	50	52	56.12	-0.96	.004
Being Accepted by Others	0	0	8	0	0	0	-	8.33	0	0
Romantic Incentive	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
Patriotism	9	36	0	0	0	17	10	22	-.33	.004
Social Responsibility	45	32	8	11	89	33	36	21.91	3.24	.043
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0

Table 10
Ego /Attitude SupportAppeals
Percent Use by Decade

Appeal Category	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	Aver-age	Inter-cept	Slope	R-Square
Materialistic	0	0	0	17	0	0	-	16.67	0	0
Status/Prestige	14	0	0	0	0	0	-	14.29	0	0
Individualism	0	0	0	0	8	0		7.69	0	0
Career Success	0	0	0	33	0	22		66.11	-5.56	1
Self Enhancement	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
Defining One's Roles	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
Self-Actualization	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
Excellence/Leadership	29	0	100	50	85	78	-	28.42	8.29	.31
Progressive Modern	50	0	0	0	0	0	-	50	0	0
Other	7	0	0	0	8	0		7.14	0	0

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GROWTH OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVERTISING AGENCIES IN FIVE ASIAN COUNTRIES: 1970-1990

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE GROWTH OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVERTISING IN FIVE ASIAN COUNTRIES: 1970-1990

ABSTRACT

Over the past ten years the debate over transnational advertising has centered on whether standardized or specialized campaigns are appropriate for the developing world. This debate has, to a large extent, overshadowed other important aspects of transnational advertising in particular how agencies enter and expand into new markets, the management structure of transnational advertising agencies (TNAA's) and the effects of transnational agency growth on the local advertising industries.

This paper examines the historical growth of transnational agencies in five Asian countries: Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan and the Republic of Korea over the twenty year period from 1970-1990. These countries were chosen because they have a recent history of rapid economic growth.

The paper discusses the criticisms of transnational advertising in developing countries, and uses a political economic approach to examine the structure of agency management and ownership and relates this to how TNAA's dominance of the local advertising industry effects the ability of local agencies to enter or have an influence on domestic markets.

Since the 1970s, there has been growing concerns among communication scholars, principally in the Third World that the flow of information is not balanced and that the media from the First World threaten the political, economic, and national sovereignty of many developing nations. Generally speaking, these concerns were voiced in UNESCO's New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).

One of the targets of the NWICO was transnational advertising. Critics (Schiller, 1989; Janus, 1986; Smith, 1980; Anderson, 1984; and Frith, 1989) argue that advertising by transnational corporations in the Third World creates a 'consumer culture' damaging to indigenous cultural systems and brings a set of western values, which often conflicts with those of host nations. On the other hand, other communication scholars claim that transnational advertising does not have a powerful effect on the host nations' cultural and social systems. They argue that the critics of transnational advertising lack empirical evidence (Frazer, 1989). This debate has resulted in a growing interest in research on this topic.

One area that is lacking in the literature research, however, is on the historical development and trends of transnational advertising. This type of research is necessary for understanding the role of transnational advertising in economic development and is, sadly, often neglected by most researchers who are concerned with transnational advertising practices. Therefore, in this paper, we will examine the historical development and trends of transnational advertising agencies (TNAAs) in one area of the developing world - in Asia. In particular, this paper deals with five Asian countries: Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Republic of China (Taiwan), and Republic of Korea (South Korea). These countries have a recent history of rapid economic growth. In fact, four of these countries (with the exception of Malaysia) are usually called the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) and Asian "tigers".

While the research on transnational advertising has been well documented in Latin America (see Roncagliolo and Janus, 1981; and Fejes, 1980), there is a dearth of comparable research on Asian markets (Anderson, 1984). In addition, as Asia is becoming perceived as a profitable market by multinational corporations, the research on the Asian situation would seem to be useful.

In this paper, we will discuss several areas: first, the criticism of transnational advertising in the Third World and particularly in Asia. Second, we will briefly describe the general characteristics of the TNAAs including their motivations in foreign market expansion. Here, we shall look at the worldwide structure of the TNAAs and discuss the general economic growth of the Asian countries. Finally, we will analyze the structure of the TNAAs in each of these five countries and examine the historical development of the TNAAs during the period (1970-1990).

To investigate the last research area, which shall be the main point of the paper, the political economic approach will be used. The political economy perspective studies how the concept of power is related to the structure of media ownership and its relations to the control of production and distribution (see Garnham, 1990). By analyzing the power structure of a media industry, it looks at the way media market forces operate. One of the basic assumptions of political economy is that the production of media is influenced by the exchange value of different kinds of content, under the pressure to expand markets, and by the underlying economic interests of owners and decision makers. From this perspective, media institutions have to be considered as a part of the economic system. In this paper, the TNAAs, like transnational corporations, are regarded as a part of the international capitalist economic system.

I. Criticism of transnational advertising

The overall claims against and criticisms of transnational advertising are well defined and discussed by Noreene Janus(1986) in her works on the implication of transnational advertising on peripheral societies. She summarizes the role and implications of transnational advertising on the developing countries into four categories: (1) the economic context of the expansion of advertising; (2) the transnationalization of local mass media; (3) the transnationalization of consumption patterns; (4) the social, cultural, and political consequences associated with the growth of advertising (Janus, 1986).

Under the first category, she discusses the promotion of non-essential products and the concentration of economic power and monopoly in peripheral societies. Needlessly differentiated but costly-packaged products compete with local products and replace those that are cheaper, more durable and sometimes more nutritious with ones that are more expensive with fancier packages. In peripheral contexts, where extreme economic inequality and political repression often create highly polarized societies, advertising helps to cover these profound contradictions "with the message that the free enterprise system is the answer to society's problem" (Janus, 1986, p. 128). In addition, transnational advertising often drives out local competition in the market and perpetuates monopolies. It prevents other, smaller firms - often national ones - from entering the market because these smaller firms cannot afford enough capital to provide for the high cost of advertising expenditures. The ultimate result is the greater transnational penetration of the economy as a whole.

The second criticism is that as transnational advertising has increased, the local media industry of the peripheral societies has become more dependent on transnational advertising. For example, among twenty-five of the largest women's magazines of six Latin American countries, an average of 59.7 per cent of their advertising space was devoted to transnational products. And two-thirds of the advertising revenues of the Latin American press come from 30 transnational corporations, mostly of U.S. origin. (Roncagliolo and Janus, 1981) The heavy influence of transnational advertising on the local media industry poses some questions about cultural autonomy and "freedom of the press" of the developing countries.

Thirdly, transnational advertising has shifted consumption habits of the people through sophisticated techniques for overcoming customer resistance. For example, in Malaysia and other rice producing countries of Asia, Kellog's has tried hard to change the traditional preference for rice for breakfast and to sell packaged breakfast cereal by convincing the consumers that packaged cereal is more convenient and modern (see Hamdan Adnan, 1991).

These kinds of criticisms are also pointed out in the MacBride Report, entitled, Many Voices One World: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow. As Janus implies, the cultural implications and the problems of social inequality that have been perpetuated through transnational advertising are major concerns of this report. It points out that

> it (transnational advertising) tends to promote attitudes and life-styles which extol acquisition and consumption at the expense of other values. A particular material possession is elevated to a social norm, so that people without it are made to feel deprived or eccentric... It brings to many people alien ethical values; it may deviate consumer demands in developing countries to areas which can inhibit development

> priorities; it affects and can often deform ways of life and life-styles (MacBride et al, 1980, pp. 110-111).

Among these criticisms, the importation of "Western Consumer Culture" is one of the concerns in Asia. Despite the huge differences in terms of values, culture, and ways of thinking, transnational advertising in Asia often ignores the differences and applies the same framework or logic of Western advertising to the Asian market (Frith and Frith, 1988). The Frith's argue that when transnational advertisers or advertising agencies move into this new setting, they bring with them a set of assumptions based on a Western consumer culture. Malaysians Consumer Association of Penang describes the role of transnational advertising in their book, Selling Dreams: How Advertising Misleads Us:

> A worrying trend is the growing influence of negative aspects of western fashion and culture on the people in the Third World countries, including Malaysia...Within this cultural system people measure their worth by the size of their house, the make of their car and the possession of the latest household equipment, clothes and gadgets. (CAP, 1986, p. 108)

These concerns are on materialism, one of the Western cultural values. Similar concerns about social inequality and excessive materialism have been noted in South Korea since imported goods became available to the public.

Another criticism related to cultural dominance involves the concept of media "professionalism" in the Third World. Golding (1977) points out that media professionalism, along with the transfer of technology from the First World, is an ideology and a part of dominant ideology in the general stream of cultural dependence. He writes, "Professionalism has been, in effect, integration into a dominant global culture of media practices and objectives as developed in the media of the advanced industrialized societies" (Golding, 1977, p. 293). According to him, this integration has been achieved through three mechanisms: institutional transfer, training and education, and the diffusion of occupational ideologies.

Among these mechanisms, especially training and education play an invisible but important role in penetrating a dominant global ideology to the communication systems and media practices of the developing countries. Anderson also points out that local elites are regularly sent to the "mother" agencies (the Center) for more orientation, training and experience. They are socialized or acculturated by the TNAA organizations and taught to "do advertising" through the Center eyes (Anderson, 1984).

In the name of "professionalism", there is also division of labour in the structure of TNAAs working in the periphery. Most expatriate experts have been in charge and have taken good executive positions while the indigenous media practitioners have historically held low status and little executive experience. This makes the developing countries dependent on the Western expertise, which we will see later in the structure of TNAAs involved in Asia.

The most serious problem in Asian countries is that the market for imported-luxury products is limited only to very small, rich parts of population. Overall, Asian market is not yet ready for the imported-luxury products. However, despite this poor capability of the market, transnational advertising promotes consumption for expensive products and tries to change the consumer's buying habits. In the end, it creates the increasing gap and disharmony of interest between the 'haves' and the 'haves-not'.

Advertising is a cultural artifact and has certain messages and values within it. Therefore, the advertising industry as one of the communications media industries cannot be treated like any other industries (e.g., steels, automobile). It is something beyond a commodity. But transnational corporations seem not to consider this aspect of advertising. Their bottom line is making profits like other private companies. In discussing the overall phenomena of transnational corporations' expansion to the global market, Schiller describes the global market as 'a near-total corporate informational-cultural environment' (Schiller, 1989, p.128). As he implies, the 'globalization' or 'internationalization' of the industry means the creation of 'one culture' - cultural homogenization. Through this process, cultural diversity and autonomy begin to lose their own characters. Transnational advertising plays a major role in this process. This is the most serious concern for periphery nations.

II. General Characteristics of TNAAs

A. Entry Motivations

According to Weinstein(1977), a business scholar, the basic motivations for the global expansion of U.S. agencies have been (1) the need to serve current clients, (2) offensives opportunity, and (3) defensive reactions. In other words, if U.S. or transnational agencies want to take advantage of a market with a large and growing potential, or want to be known as a multinational agency, they expand to the international market. They also go to the global market to defend their position: for example, if there is rapid overseas expansion of other agencies, or if the U.S. market is saturated by many competing firms, or if other competing foreign agencies are already in the market.

These motivations are applied to the expansion of the TNAAs in Asia. The TNAA's have prospered in Asian societies like Japan, Hong Kong, or Singapore which are politically stable and where economic conditions foster Western-style growth and standards of living (Anderson, 1984). To a lesser degree, the TNAAs are also active in some developing societies in Asia, such as Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand, - where political stability exists and the governments policy fosters development primarily through foreign investment.

On the other hand, the TNAAs do not like on-again, off-again government regulation and other factors that limit business activities. Government regulations discouraging foreign investment are the reason the TNAAs no longer have wholly-owned offices in India (Anderson, 1984). Until lately, this case also applied to the situation of South Korea and Taiwan. These two countries had banned foreign ownership and investment for a long time and there was no market for transnational advertisers because their products were not available to the public until recently.

B. Overall Structure of TNAAs in the World and in Asia.

As early as 1915, J.Walter Thompson (JWT) opened its first non-North American office. By 1950, it had offices in 11 countries. McCann-Erickson and Young & Rubicam, the U.S.overseas pioneers, had a total of 11 non-U.S. equity investments by 1950 (Weinstein, 1977). In the late 1950's, only a few U.S. advertising agencies had the capability to meet the needs of U.S.-based companies doing business overseas. However, by 1960, the rate of expansion of U.S. agencies into other nations began to rise rapidly. By the late 1960s, there were more than 50 U.S.-based transnational agencies that had foreign offices with the capability to solve the complex communication problems inherent in advertising to customers in diverse foreign markets (Miracle, 1977).

By 1970, multinational agency billings outside the U.S. totaled 1.8 billion and comprised 18 per cent of the total billings of American advertising agencies ($10.1 billion). In 1975, 80 per cent of the total foreign billings ($1.34

billion) of the top three U.S. multinational agencies (J.Walter Thompson, McCann-Erickson, and Young & Rubicam) came from agency branches in Western Europe, Canada, Australia, and Japan (Fejes, 1980).

As Table 1 shows, during the twenty years from 1970 to 1990, virtually all the same multinational advertising agencies have been the world's top ten agencies, only varying their ranks from time to time. As "super major agencies", their total billings are continuously increasing from $US 4,300 million in 1970 to $US 85,414.2 million in 1990.

Since 1980, the advertising industry has witnessed a trend toward "super agencies, the large agencies merging with other larger agencies in order to have global power" (S. Smith, 1985, p.8). Smith predicts that only three to five "super agencies" will dominate all others in the near future. The TNAAs' expansion in Asia is also noticeable since 1980. As table 1 shows, between 1970 and 1980, the TNAAs were mostly active in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, while there was very little activity in Taiwan and none in Korea. During the five years (1970-1975) the total billings of the largest multinational agencies in these Asian countries were $US 104.42 million (1980 data is not available). On the other hand, between 1985 and 1990, the total billings of multinational agencies in these five countries increased to $US 3,177.96 million. In other words, compared to the early 1970s, the five years of the mid-1980s showed a 2944% (around

Table 1. GROWTH OF WORLD'S TOP 10 ADVERTISING AGENCIES -

1970 - 1990

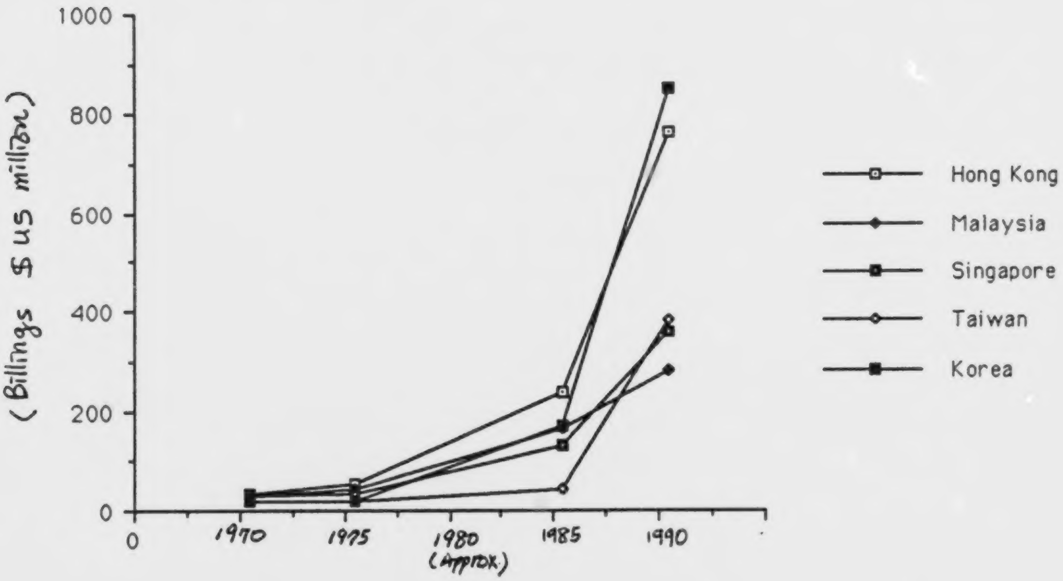
Rank	1970 $US	1975 $US	1980 $US	1985 $US	1990* $US
1	**J.W.Thomp.** (764.0)	**Dentsu** (945.8)	**Dentsu** (2,721)	**Dentsu** (3,620)	**WPP Group** (18,095)
2	**McCann-** (546.9)	**J.W.Thomp** (900.1)	**Y & R** (2,273)	**Y & R.** (3,580)	**Saatchi** (11,861.7)
3	**Dentsu** (522.3)	**Y & R** (800.9).	**J.W. Thomp** (2,138)	**O & M** (3,320)	**Interpublic** (11,025.3)
4	**Y & R** (520.2)	**McCann-** (775.1)	**McCann-** (1,682)	**T.Bates** (3,110)	**Omnicom G** (9,699.6)
5	**T Bates** (414.2)	**L. Burnett** (623.0)	**O & M** (1,662)	**J.W.Thomp** (3,010)	**Dentsu I.** (9,671.6)
6	**L. Burnett** (389.0)	**T. Bates** (604.0)	**T. Bates** (1,404)	**Saatchi** (3,030)	**Y & R** (8,000.7)
7	**BBDO** (350.4)	**O & M** (581.6)	**BBDO** (1,305)	**BBDO** (2,520)	**Eurocom G** (5,065.7)
8	**DDB** (291.4)	**BBDO** (525.0)	**L. Burnett** (1,145)	**McCann-** (2,300)	**Hakuhodo** (4,529.4)
9	**Grey AD** (251.4).	**FCB** (396.4)	**SSC&B** (1,203)	**DMBB** (2,180)	**Grey AD** (3,910.4)
10	**O & M** (250.2).	**DMMM** (329.5)	**FCB** (1,118)	**FCBC** (1,900)	**FCBC** (3,554.8)

* 1990 data are based on advertising organizations, instead of individual agencies.

J.W.Thomp.: J. Walter Thompson
McCann-: McCann-Erickson
Y & R.: Young & Rubicam
T.Bates: Ted Bates
L.Burnett: Leo Burnett
BBDO: Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn
DDB: Doyle Dane Bernbach
Grey AD: Grey Advertising
O & M: Ogilvy & Mather
FCB: Foote, Cone & Belding
DMMM: D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius
Saatchi: Saatchi & Saatchi Compton Worldwide
DMBB: D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles (D'Arcy MacManus & Masius merged with Benton & Bowles in mid of 1985)
FCBC: Foote, Cone & Belding Communications

30 times) increase in the total billings of multinational agencies. Table 2 illustrates well this dramatic increase in billings. This phenomena can be explained by the U.S.pressure for open-door policy on Asian "tigers" and the liberalization in these countries.

TABLE 2: TOTAL BILLINGS OF TNAAS
IN SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES: 1970-1990



C. Overall Economic Growth in Asia

In 1988, the U.S. announced it would stop the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) for four Asian countries - Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore - on the basis of their economic growth. As a duty-free access program, GSP is a device to help the developing countries improve their economy by selling more products in the international markets. Whatever its real reasons for cutting GSP from these countries, the Asian "tigers" are considered the dynamic markets in Asia.

TABLE 3: ANNUAL GROWTH RATES FOR SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES

(IN US $ MILLIONS)

	HONG KONG	SINGAPORE	MALAYSIA	SOUTH KOREA
1987 GNP	45,280	20,717	29,556	112,947
PER CAPITA/$US	8,260	7,940	1,800	2,690
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE - FROM 1980 TO 1987	5.5%	1.1%*	N.A.	7.3%

** Taiwan's GNP is not available in the World Bank.

* Among these four countries, Singapore is very influenced by the West's recession in 1985 due to its regional and industrial peculiarity. However, between 1986 and 1987, the annual growth rate increased to 7.3%.

Due to the general economic growth, the advertising industry has also grown rapidly. As a whole, the ad industry in Asia is enjoying an extraordinarily high growth rate of 25-50% a year. These rates dwarf the single-digit growth rates of the mature markets of North America, Japan and much of Western Europe and help explain why the TNAAs are devoting so much attention to Asia (Far Eastern Economic Review, June 29, 1989). Although, compared to the ad expenditures of the developed countries, the ad expenditure of Asian countries is still small, the market value of them seems to be high because their markets are now growing while the markets in Western countries have already arrived at a sustained level of growth. John Ferries, the president of D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles/International, said,

> We're aggressively expanding there (Southeast Asia) because of the area's remarkable growth in terms of a middle-class consumer market and the rapidly growing availability of television and other media
> (New York Times, December 14, 1990, D-9).

Major international agencies, including McCann-Erickson, Ogilvy & Mather, J.Walter Thompson, and Backer Spielvogel Bates Worldwide(B.S.B.), have a fairly strong presence in the region. For example, in 1989, B.S.B's Asian network had billings of about $750 million, or 27 percent of its billings outside the United States (New York Times, December 14, 1990).

As the Far Eastern Economic Review points out, a number of trends are combining to fuel the advertising industry's rapid growth:

1. Strong economic growth in both Northeast and Southeast Asia is creating affluent middle-class populations;
2. Market-opening measures are allowing foreign investment in service industries, including advertising;
3. Currency appreciation in Korea and Taiwan has brought down the price of imported goods;
4. Multinational consumer product giants like Unilever, Colgate-Palmolive, and Procter & Gamble encourage the entry of the advertising agencies which serve their accounts.

5. Government policies in some countries around the region are turning towards promoting domestic consumption. These policies also benefit the involvement of the TNAAs.

III. The Current Advertising Industry in Five Asian Countries

In order to analyze the structure and history of the industry in each country, we have used economic data collected from the annual international edition of Advertising Age and other secondary data. In addition, a brief survey was conducted during Fall of 1990. Questionnaires were sent to 25 agencies in Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea (the five largest agencies based on billings in each country were selected). There was an 80% return rate on the questionnaires.

In the following section, we'll specifically describe the trends of TNAAs ownership over the past twenty years and analyze history and structure of employment of the five largest agencies in each country. In following Golding's (1977) concern with "professionalism", the nationality of decision-makers in each agency is also analyzed and compared to each other. In Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea only four agencies returned questionnaires, thus we have analyzed only these four agencies. In this paper, "domestic" agencies and "local" agencies have different meanings. While domestic agencies mean locally owned agencies, local agencies indicate branches of TNAAs.

A. Hong Kong

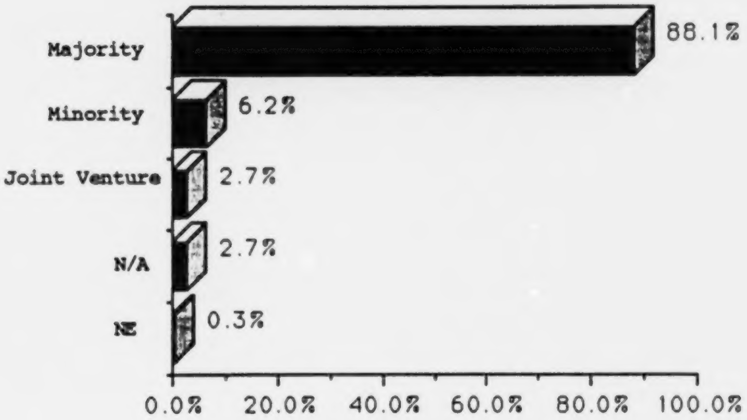
The Hong Kong advertising industry was internationalized earlier than any of other Asian markets, mainly because of its geography and its colonial history. By serving as the corporate headquarters for the Asian regions, Hong Kong has become the most developed TNAAs center in Asia.

TABLE 4: TNAAS IN HONG KONG WITH MAJORITY OWNERSHIP - 1970 AND 1990

1970	1990
Cathay Advertising	Ogilvy & Mather
Grant Advertising Int'l.	Leo Burnett Ltd.
Ling-McCann-Erickson	J. Walter Thompson Co.
Chase-Compton Advertising	Ball Partnership
S.H. Benson (Hong Kong)	Backer Spielvogel Bates
Leo Burnett Ltd.	BBDO Hong Kong
	DDB Needham DIK
	McCann-Erickson
	Bozell Ltd.
	People & Grey
	Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising
	Kobs & Draft
	DMB&B-Modern
	Lintas:Hong Kong
	Foote, Cone & Belding
	Medicus Intercon Pacific (part of DMB&B)
	Hakuhodo Hong Kong

A structural analysis of the Hong Kong industry reveals that Hong Kong is the number one among these five Asian countries in terms of TNAAs dominance. Under this dominance, the market shareship of local advertising agencies has weakened. For example, in 1970, only six local agencies had any relations with the TNAAs and their billings were $US 16,698,119 (69.5% of total billings). However, in 1990, seventeen agencies shared majority ownership with the TNAAs and took in 88% of the total billings with $US 656,171,000 in billings.

TABLE 5: THE TNAAS INVOLVEMENT IN HONG KONG AD INDUSTRY -- 1990 AGENCY OWNERSHIP



Majority: Majority owned (51-100%).
Minority: Minority owned (1- 49%).
N/A: Not applicable.
NE: No Equity.

Source: Completed from Advertising Age, March 1991.

In 1990, the five largest agencies in Hong Kong were wholly owned by major TNAAs. They were Ogilvy & Mather, Leo Burnett, HDM.LTD (Havas Dentsu Young&Rubicam Company), McCann-Erickson LTD, and Saatchi & Saatchi. Only two agencies among them, McCann-Erickson LTD and Saatchi & Saatchi, started their business by buying out old or existing agencies. McCann-Erickson LTD started in 1963 by buying out China Commercial Advertising and Saatchi & Saatchi entered late in the industry by buying Wong Lam in 1985.

TABLE 6: HISTORY OF THE FIVE LARGEST AGENCIES IN HONG KONG BY YEAR OPENED AND TYPE OF ENTRY

AGENCIES	YEAR	TYPE OF ENTRY
Ogilvy & Mather (H.K) Pte.Ltd.	1972	Opened new agency
Leo Burnett Ltd.	1970	Opened new agency
HDM. LTD	1979	Opened new agency
McCann-Erickson LTD.	1963	Bought out old one
Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising	1985	Bought out old one

As table 7 indicates, Leo Burnett has the largest number of employees in general and employs the largest number of expatriates among the TNAAs operating in Hong Kong. Although Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising is a relatively small operation here, it has a higher rate of expatriates employment.

While the overall number of expatriates employed may be small, as Golding (1977) and Anderson (1984) point out, the more important point here is which positions these expatriates hold in each agency. In the name of "professionalism", there is a division of labour in employees' status. For example, in the case of Ogilvy & Mather, four of ten expatriates have major key positions: President, Managing Director, Head of Creative, and Head of Media. All of them come from the Great Britain. Only one position - Head of Account Services - is taken by local personnel. Leo Burnett Ltd. also puts expatriates in the key positions: President (from Australia), Managing Director (from U.S.A.), and Head of Creative (from U.S.A.). In the name of training and education, all the decision making positions are taken by the expatriates.

TABLE 7: STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EXPATRIATE POSITIONS

AGENCY	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF EXPATS	PERCENT OF EXPATS	EXPATS IN MGMT POSITIONS
Ogilvy & Mather	148	10	7%	P, MD,HC,HM
Leo Burnett LTD.	200	60	30%	P, MD, HC
HDM.LTD.	140	20	14%	P, HC, HA
McCann-Erickson LTD.	102	10	10%	P, MD, HC
Saatchi & Saatchi Ad.	92	17	18%	MD, HC, HA

P=President, MD=Managing Director, HC=Head of Creative,
HM=Head of Media, HA=Head of Account Services

On the other hand, the indigenous personnel are most productive in the Hong Kong agencies carrying out routine works assigned by the Center nations through expatriate leadership. It means that due to the division of labour within the agencies the Hong Kong advertising industry is controlled by the Center TNAAs headquarters and is continuously dependent on major Western TNAAs.

B. Singapore

Overall, Singapore holds a great appeal for the TNAAs. In colonial times, it served as the major trade center in the Southeast Asia region and quickly adopted a Western style economy. Compared to the role of other governments in Asia, the Singapore government played a very unique and active role in attracting the TNAAs by emphasizing laissez-faire policies. The government made no distinction between indigenous and foreign agencies or capital.

On the other hand, in terms of regulations on media content, Singapore's policies are not as strict as some of the other nations. While it recently implemented a blanket ban on all tobacco advertising, other policies are more lenient. As long as the advertisements do not make unwarranted claims, avoid racial and religious sensitivities, and do not use long-haired males ("hippie life-style themes"), the government has not interfered in advertising to any great extent. Therefore, based on this policy, the government has no particular restrictions against foreign-made advertisements as long as they meet the standards of ethical conduct specified in the Singapore Code of Advertising Practice and the government's Radio and Television Singapore Program Code.

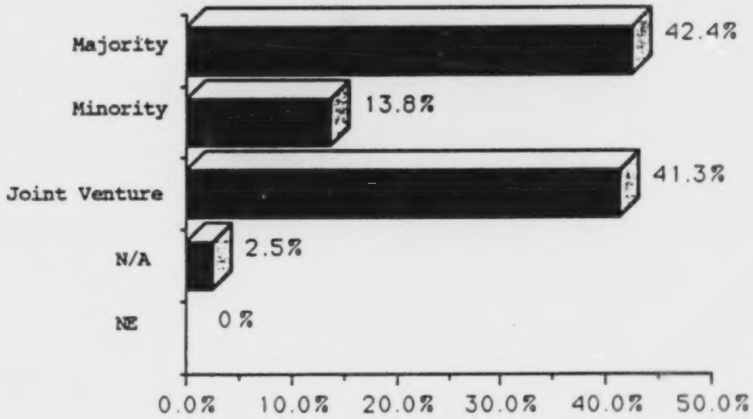
Singapore also shares problems common to most developing nations - cultural conflicts between tradition and "modernization" or "westernization". Some problems are that foreign life-styles and values such as materialism and permissiveness are fostering a hedonist culture and causing Singaporeans, especially the young, to abandon their cultural traditions. However, despite these concerns and local admen's complaints of foreign domination, the basic policies pursued by the government since 1965 have not changed (Anderson, 1984). In this sense, by the TNCs' and TNAAs' perspectives, Singapore has been a remarkable market for them.

TABLE 8: TNAAS IN SINGAPORE WITH MAJORITY OWNERSHIP-1970-1990

1970	1990
Leo Burnett Pte. Ltd.	Ogilvy & Mather
Grant Advertising Int'l	McCann-Erickson Singapore
S.H. Benson (Singapore)	Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising
	J.Walter Thompson Singapore
	Leo Burnett Pte.
	Hukuhodo Singapore
	Spencer/BBDO
	Chiat/Day/Mojo
	Ball Partnership
	DMB&B
	Lintas:Singapore
	Bozell Advertising
	Ketchum Advertising/Singapore
	Backer Spielvogel Bates
	Tropical Alliance

Although in 1970 only three local agencies had any relations with the TNAAs, they almost dominated the industry with $US 8,432,130 billings. However, in 1990, fifteen agencies shared majority ownership with the TNAAs and took in 72.3% of the total billings with $US 245,595,000 billings.

TABLE 9: THE TNAAS INVOLVEMENT IN SINGAPORE AD INDUSTRY -- 1990 AGENCY OWNERSHIP



Majority: Majority owned (51-100%).
Minority: Minority owned (1- 49%).
N/A: Not applicable.
NE: No Equity.

Source: Completed from Advertising Age, March 1991.

In 1990, four of the largest agencies in Singapore were wholly owned by major TNAAs. They were Ogilvy & Mather (Singapore) Pte.Ltd., Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising Pte.Ltd, J. Walter Thompson(S) Pte.Ltd., and Lintas:Worldwide(S) Pte.Ltd. Only Saatchi & Saatchi started business by buying out an existing agency, Compton in 1968. Compared to other agencies, J.Walter Thompson joined the Singapore advertising industry late.

TABLE 10: HISTORY OF THE FOUR LARGEST AGENCIES IN SINGAPORE BY YEAR OPENED AND TYPE OF ENTRY

AGENCIES	YEAR	TYPE OF ENTRY
Ogilvy & Mather (S) Pte.Ltd.	1958	Opened new agency
Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising	1968	Buying out old one
J.Walter Thompson	1979	Opened new agency
Lintas:Worldwide (S)	1974	Opened new agency

Overall these four agencies have a similar rate of expatriates employment. However, as Table 11, indicates, Ogilvy & Mather has the largest number of employees and has put expatriates in all the major positions. The positions of President and Managing Director (shared by one person) are taken by an American, Head of Creative and Head of Account Services by the British, Head of Media by an Indian. Also, all three expatriates in Lintas:Worldwide hold key positions.

On the other hand, in Saatchi & Saatchi local personnel are strong. All the important positions except one are taken by local people. One local woman currently holds three positions - Chairman, Managing Director, and Head of

Creative. However, she was educated abroad. As we see in Hong Kong industry, Singapore has also a division of labour in terms of employees' status.

TABLE 11: STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EXPATRIATE POSITIONS

AGENCY	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF EXPATS	PERCENT OF EXPATS	EXPATS IN MGMT POSITIONS
Ogilvy & Mather	170	15	9%	P/MD,HC,HM, HA
Saatchi & Saatchi	85	8	9%	HA
J.Walter Thompson	90	6	6%	P,MD,HC,HM
Lintas:Worldwide	41	3	7%	HC,HM,HA

P=President, MD=Managing Director, HC=Head of Creative, HM=Head of Media, HA=Head of Account Services. P/MD means that President and Managing Director is considered as one position in this specific agency.

Compared to Hong Kong, the domestic Singaporean agencies have been very weak and have had less than 10% market share since 1970. The main reason for that may be the liberal government policies. As long as the government maintains a liberal policy for its industry, the dependency of the advertising industry on the TNAAs will continue and get stronger in the future.

C, Malaysia

Economically, Malaysia has heavy foreign involvement. For example, by 1975, non-citizens controlled nearly 55% of the corporate sector equity. By 1977, more than five hundred TNCs had invested more than $US 416 million in Malaysian manufacturing, including Colgate-Palmolive, Goodyear, Johnson & Johnson, and Unilever (Anderson, 1984).

The advertising industry has also been dominated by the TNAAs, and their domination has produced some resentment from Malaysian agencies, both Chinese and Malay. In addition, the lack of successful, Malay-owned or managed agencies has been part of the government's overall concern that the commercial sector has not had much participation from the indigenous people. However, these concerns have not led to a major political, public debate and have not changed the structure of the industry itself.

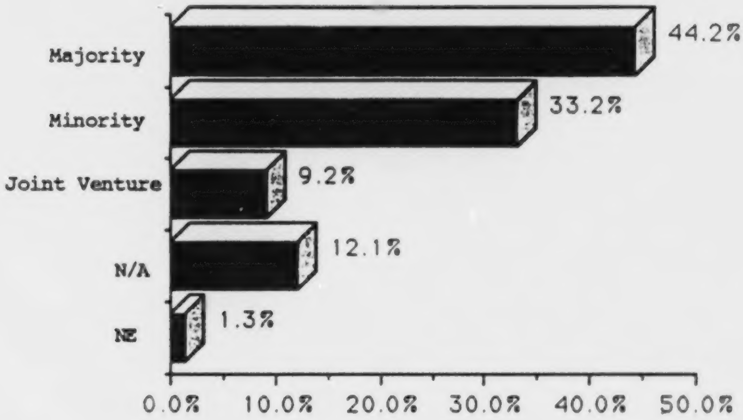
Instead, since 1970 the government has had some nationalistic policies for advertising content with official guidelines. For example, the government made a policy requiring that all ad films be made in Malaysia and that all non-Malay films have subtitles in the national language. However, although the TNAAs at first were unhappy with this kind of policy, this policy did not disturb the TNAAs operations in terms of their profits since they had a capability to overcome and compromise some restrictions.

TABLE 12: TNAAS IN MALAYSIA WITH MAJORITY OWNERSHIP - 1970 AND 1990

1970	1990
Leo Burnett Sdn.Bhd.	Ogilvy & Mather
S.H. Benson (Malaya)	McCann-Erickson Malaysia
McCann-Erickson (Malaysia)	J. Walter Thompson Co.
Lintas Ltd.	Lintas:Malaysia
Grant Advertising Int'l	Wings BBDO
	Ball Partnership
	Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising

As Table 12 shows, in 1970 only five agencies had any associations with the TNAAs and controlled $US 11,597,530 in billings. Twenty years later, seven agencies had TNAA relations and took in 44.2% of the total billings ($US 116,215,000 billings). Malaysia seems to be less under the TNAAs influences than Hong Kong or Singapore. However, when we look at the minority ownership level, Malaysia still shows the dominance of the TNAAs in the ad industry. Seven agencies have minority ownership relations with the TNAAs and take 33.2% of the total billings. Therefore, combined majority with minority ownership, the TNAAs have 77.4% of total billings.

TABLE 13: THE TNAAS INVOLVEMENT IN MALAYSIA AD INDUSTRY -- 1990 AGENCY OWNERSHIP



Majority: Majority owned (51-100%).
Minority: Minority owned (1- 49%).
N/A: Not applicable.
NE: No Equity.

Source: Completed from Advertising Age, March 1991.

In 1990, the five largest agencies in Malaysia were Ogilvy & Mather, McCann-Erickson, Leo Burnett, J. Walter Thompson, and Lintas:Kuala Lumpur. Among them, only two agencies, McCann-Erickson(Malaysia) and Lintas:Kuala Lumpur were wholly owned by the TNAAs. The other three share their ownership with indigenous groups. As Table 14 shows, only Ogilvy & Mather started business in 1972 by buying out an existing agency, S.H. Benson which was also London-based British TNAA. The other four agencies started their operations by opening new agencies.

TABLE 14:HISTORY OF THE FIVE LARGESET AGENCIES IN MALAYSIA BY YEAR OPENED AND TYPE OF ENTRY

AGENCIES	YEAR	TYPE OF ENTRY
Ogilvy & Mather (Malaysia) Sdn.Bhd.	1972	Bought out old agency
McCann-Erickson (Malaysia) Sdn.Bhd.	1965	Opened new agency
Leo Burnett Sdn. Berhad.	1966	Opened new agency
J. Walter Thompson	1974	Opened new agency
Lintas:Kuala Lumpur	1961	Opened new agency

Compared to Hong Kong and Singapore, Malaysia has fewer expatriates involved in the agencies. But still, the small number of expatriates hold key decision-making positions. McCann-Erickson and Lintas put all the expatriates in important positions. Since most TNAA-related agencies have Western personnels as think-tank, the structural analysis of Malaysia' agencies employment shows one interesting point: as expatriates, some other Asians personnel are involved. For example, in Lintas, two expatriates of three come from Thailand (President) and India (Managing Director). One of the two expatriates in J.Walter Thompson came from the Philippines (Managing Director). Another interesting point in

Ogilvy & Mather is that the position of Head of Creative is shared by one Malay personnel and one expatriate(English).

TABLE 15: STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EXPATRIATE POSITIONS

AGENCY	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF EXPATS	PERCENT OF EXPATS	EXPATS IN MGMT POSITIONS
Ogilvy & Mather	184	6	3%	MD,HC,HM
McCann-Erickson	126	2	1%	MD,HC
Leo Burnett	110	3	2%	MD,HA
J.W. Thompson	100	2	2%	MD
Lintas:	80	3	3%	P,MD,HC

P=President, MD=Managing Director, HC=Head of Creative, HM=Head of Media, HA=Head of Account Services

The limited involvement of expatriate personnel in management positions might be due to the conscious effort of the Malaysia government, which required at least 30 percent of commercial and industrial activities should be owned and managed by Malays and other indigenous people by 1990 (Asian Advertising & Marketing, April 1990).

D. Republic of China (Taiwan)

As discussed earlier, the Taiwan advertising industry has a relatively short history in terms of TNAA involvement and development. Compared to the industry of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia, Taiwan has only begun to attract the TNAAs since 1980, and has had a rapid growth, mainly because of its economic growth and new economic policy of liberalization.

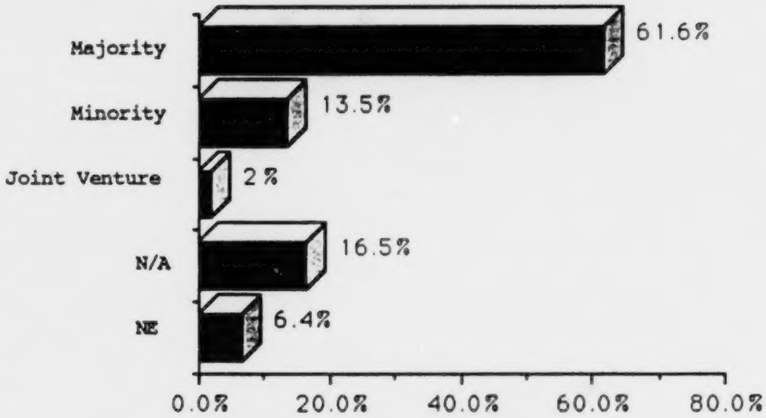
Between 1970 and 1979, there was just one TNAA-related agency, Grant Advertising International. In 1970, Grant Advertising International had relations with the TNAA and took in 13.2% of total billings with $US 350,000. However, since 1980s, the situation has rapidly changed. In 1990, eleven agencies shared majority ownership with the TNAAs and took in 61.6% of the total billings with $US 237,185,000 billings. Although Taiwan became a late-entry market for the TNAAs, TNAAs market shareship of 1990 total billings tells us that Taiwan is no less exploited than any other markets (cf. Hong Kong 88%, Singapore 72.3%, Malaysia 44.2%).

TABLE 16: TNAAS IN TAIWAN WITH MAJORITY OWNERSHIP - 1970 AND 1990

1970	1990
Grant Advertising Int'l	Ogilvy & Mather McCann-Erickson Taiwan J.W. Thompson Co. Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising Lintas:Taiwan Leo Burnett Co. DIK-Ocean Advertising Stentor BBDO DDB Needham Ball Partnership BSB Taiwan

Due to the rapid growth of the advertising industry, Taiwan is experiencing a staff shortage problem. Some "brain-drainers" are coming in from Hong Kong. As long as there are such shortages at the managerial level, staff-sneaking will continue. Due to these problems, the penetration of the TNAAs and their role in the industry seem to be strong in the future and may weaken the competitive ability of the local agencies.

TABLE 17: THE TNAAS INVOLVEMENT IN TAIWAN AD INDUSTRY
-- 1990 AGENCY OWNERSHIP



Majority: Majority owned (51-100%).
Minority: Minority owned (1- 49%).
N/A: Not applicable.
NE: No Equity.

Source: Completed from Advertising Age, March 1991.

In 1990, the four largest agencies in Taiwan were Ogilvy & Mather, Leo Burnett Co., DDB Needham, and Hwa Wei & Grey. Only Leo Burnett Co. was wholly owned by a TNAA, and Ogilvy & Mather and DDB Needham shared majority ownership, and Hwa Wei & Grey had minority ownership (25%) with the TNAAs. As we can see from Table 18, among four agencies, Ogilvy & Mather and Leo Burnett started their business by buying out existing agencies, Cathay Advertising, and TSE-Needham and Standard respectively.

TABLE 18:HISTORY OF THE FOUR LARGEST AGENCIES IN TAIWAN BY YEAR OPENED AND TYPE OF ENTRY

Agencies	Year	Type of Entry
Ogilvy & Mather Co.,Ltd.	1986	Bought out old agency
Leo Burnett Co. Ltd.	1985	Bought out old one
DDB Needham Worldwide	1984	Opened new agency
Hwa Wei & Grey Adv.Co.,Ltd.	1975	Opened new agency

As Table 19 indicates, Taiwan shows less involvement of expatriates in management positions. Only DDB Needham puts all three expatriates in key positions. For example, in the case of Ogilvy & Mather, despite the large number of expatriates, only one British personnel holds an important position (Head of Account Services). Even Hwa Wei & Grey did not employ any expatriates.

TABLE 19: STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EXPATRIATE POSITIONS

AGENCY	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF EXPATS	PERCENT OF EXPATS	EXPATS IN MGNT POSITIONS
Ogilvy & Mather	203	25	12%	HA
Leo Burnett	90	7	8%	MD, HC, HA
DDB Needham	50	3	6%	P, MD, HC
Hwa Wei & Grey	128	---	---	---

P=President, MD=Managing Director, HC= Head of Creative, HA=Head of Account Services

Compared to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia, Taiwan has a more independent industry so far. However, considering the short history of TNAAs involvement, we cannot ignore the rate of expatriates' employment. Furthermore, the problem of man-power shortage is another thing we have to take into account for the future of the Taiwanese industry.

E. Republic of Korea (South Korea)

The history of the TNAAs development in Korea is short. Until 1990 the Korean government's policy was not to let TNAAs operate in Korea. Recently, liberalizing the advertising market, foreign companies can now hold 99 percent equity in 1990 and 100 percent equity in 1991. Due to government control over the ownership of advertising agencies in Korea, the Korean advertising industry is still very much in the hands of the indigenous population. Therefore, the economic, cultural and social criticisms of the transnational advertising are not voiced as much as those in other countries (i.e., Malaysia in Asia).

Although there are no strong criticisms at this point regarding economic control of the TNAAs, it should be noted that the development and practices of TNAAs in Korea will somewhat change the Korean ways of doing business and advertising. Some people have already expressed their concern that the TNAAs may impose foreign ways on the Korean culture, altering eating habits, entertainment tastes, and modes of dress ("Asian Advertising Review 89/90," 1990, p.57).

Recently, there was a public campaign against luxury foreign imports in Korea. Some foreign consumer goods, such as golf clubs, brand-name clothes (i.e., Burberrys, Bally, Lanvin, and Yves Saint Laurent), and electric products, suddenly disappeared from the leading department stores in Seoul. The one senior manager from Hyundai Department Store which is owned by the "Chaebol" Hyundai group reports that the department store responds to the mounting public sensitivity against a luxurious way of life. Here, a noticeable thing regarding this campaign happened: A U.S. official visited Seoul to investigate this campaign whether the Korean government was behind it (LA Times, 6/18/90, D2). Such U.S. action was probably motivated by its transnational business sector. This incident illustrates how eagerly the transnational firms (mainly American) try to break into the resisting market for their market expansion.

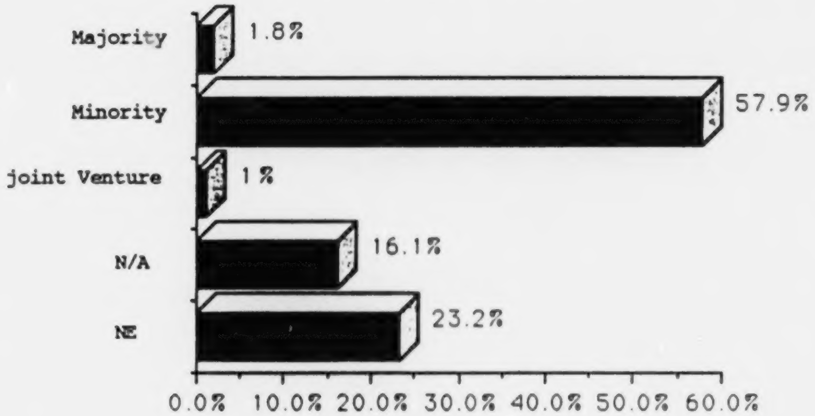
Another concern of foreign advertisers is the complaints about the lack of air and commercial time in Korea. By government regulations, Korean stations only broadcast a few hours a day from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m., and 5:30 p.m. to midnight. Foreign advertisers insist that due to this time table, they cannot capture the most important consumer - the housewives. Transnational advertisers want to change the structure of the media itself to get more commercial time.

TABLE 20: TNAAS IN SOUTH KOREA WITH MAJORITY OWNERSHIP - 1970 AND 1990

1970	1990
------------	J. Walter Thompson Korea Lintas:Samhee McCann-Erickson

In 1970, there was no TNAA involvement. However, since the liberalization of the economy, there has been a growing change in the structure of advertising agencies ownership. In 1990 three major TNAAs already had majority ownership in Korea: J.Walter Thompson Korea, Lintas:Samhee, and McCann-Erickson. The total billings of these three TNAAs were $US 19,641,000 and took in only 1.8% of the total billings. In addition, Bozell, Ogilvy & Mather, Backer Spielvogel Bates, Young & Rubicam, and Dentsu have at least minor ownership. They are responsible for 57.9% of the Korean advertising industry billings. All the TNAAs involved in Korea are among the top 20 world agencies. There has been a rapid development of super agencies in the Korean advertising industry over a short period of time.

TABLE 21: THE TNAAS INVOLVEMENT IN KOREA AD INDUSTRY -- 1990 AGENCY OWNERSHIP



Majority: Majority owned (51-100%).
Minority: Minority owned (1- 49%).
N/A: Not applicable.
NE: No Equity.

Source: Completed from Advertising Age, March 1991.

TABLE 22: HISTORY OF THE FOUR LARGEST AGENCIES IN SOUTH KOREA BY YEAR OPENED AND TYPE OF ENTRY

AGENCIES	YEAR	TYPE OF ENTRY
Oricom Inc.	1967	Opened new agency
LGAd, Inc.	1963	Buying out old one
Daehong Advertising Inc.	1982	Opened new agency
Cheil Communications Inc.	1973	Opened new agency

In 1990, the four largest agencies in South Korea were Oricom Inc., LGAd, Inc., Daehong Advertising Inc., and Cheil Communications. LGAd, Inc. which was Lucky-Gold Star's (one of the "Chaebol" group) in-house agency shared minority ownership with BBDO (20%) . Oricom Inc. had some relations with Dentsu Inc., Daehong Advertising Inc. was affiliated with DDB Needham Worldwide, and Cheil Communications Inc. was affiliated with Bozell. Cheil Communications Inc. was the new name of Korea First Advertising from 1990 onward.

As Table 23 shows, there were no expatriates employed by the four agencies. Compared to other countries' agencies, the Korean agencies have very large operations and a great deal of employees. From these huge organizations, we can recognize that Korea is the second largest advertising consuming market after Japan in Asia.

TABLE 23: STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EXPATRIATE POSITIONS

AGENCY	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF EXPATS	PERCENT OF EXPATS	EXPATS IN MGMT POSITIONS
Oricom Inc.	425	---	---	---
LGAd, Inc.	350	---	---	---
Daehong Advertising	280	---	---	---
Cheil Communications	550	---	---	---

IV. Conclusion

While transnational advertising has been cause for concern in the periphery countries, our study confirms that TNAAs' dominance of the local industry still continues and their expansion into local industry continues to grow. As we have discussed, following the basic motivations, the TNAAs enter and do business in a country wherever political stability and affluent market power are available. By looking at the case of Singapore, we can see the visible expansion of the TNAAs. As we mentioned in the Singapore section, the TNAAs were sometimes very aggressive in acquiring market power in countries they thought would be profitable markets for them.

As we examined the historical development of the TNAAs in Asia, especially in Hong Kong and Singapore, we see that the TNAAs drove domestic agencies out of the market to maintain major power in the industry. The implications of this pattern could be very serious for periphery countries. As time goes by, cultural and economic dependency on the TNAAs could be increasingly detrimental to the local advertising industry. As Anderson (1984) notes, transnational corporations and agencies often contribute to underdevelopment of the local industry, not to undevelopment.

To cope with the domination of the TNAAs, governments in periphery nations must implement strong policies which fundamentally change the structure of the industry. The governments of Singapore and Malaysia have failed to address the fundamental problems of the industry, just by focusing on content level of advertisements rather than industry structure. With a long-term plan, the governments should be able to deal with the TNAA. Although the periphery countries will continue to receive technical aid and learn management skills from the TNAAs, the governments should direct the local industry to prepare for self-sufficient agencies in the international contexts after a certain number of years.

Another important point is the awareness of the concept of 'internationalization' or 'globalization.' The industries of periphery countries often have the notion that 'bigness' is good and means success in the market. This kind of conceptualization might be the result of the TNCs' promotions. However, these concepts are myths to some extent. They are not based on equally-shared power.

In addition, the concept of 'free flow of information' is also mystified by the Center countries for their own interests. Whenever the TNCs or TNAAs experience resistance from the host governments by any legal policies, they argue that the periphery governments undermine the notion and role of 'free flow of information.' However, one must consider what 'free flow of information' is for whom and from where.

Overall, this research is limited by the fact that a small scale survey was conducted. However, the data used from the Advertising Age expanded the limitations of the survey. Future research on government policies that have shaped the structure and employment practices of TNAA's in Asia would be extremely useful in expanding this work.

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Measuring Media Image: Expectations, Perceptions, and Attitudes of Local Retail Advertisers

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Abstract: Measuring Media Image: Expectations, Perceptions, and Attitudes of Local Retail Advertisers

This paper examines local retail advertisers' image of local media and develops a media image measurement model based on expectations and perceptions of media value, quality, and service. Attitudes toward advertising, media use habits, and market characteristics appear to play a role in the media image formation process. Survey respondents were those charged with media decision-making responsibilities for banks, automobile dealerships, and furniture/clothing stores from Raleigh and Charlotte, North Carolina (n=163). A better understanding of the way local advertisers think about and compare media may help local media firms to compete for advertising budgets in an increasingly competitive media marketplace.

INTRODUCTION

Local retail business is a vital part of the economic support structure for community newspapers, television, radio, and other local media. The relationship between local media and local advertisers is a channel for close to half of all advertising dollars spent in the United States.[1] Yet there has been little research into either the decision-making processes of local retail advertisers or the way they view and compare local media when allocating advertising budgets.

Competition among local media for local retail advertising budgets has intensified in recent years. Traditional local advertising vehicles include community newspapers, network-affiliated television stations, local radio, outdoor signs, yellow pages, flyers, and specialty advertising items. Advertisers now can buy ads on cable television, local independent television stations, and movie theater screens; in locally-generated newsletters and magazines; and even on many formerly obscure places such as the reverse side of grocery store receipts.

Advancements in computer and communication technologies are facilitating the expansion of advertising choices at the local level. For example, many businesses now use desktop publishing software to generate their own advertising vehicles in the form of in-house newsletters, magazines, and direct mail pieces. Computer database software manages customer and prospect lists of names, addresses, and even personal characteristics such as age, income, credit rating, education, and purchasing behavior.[2]

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[1] Robert J. Coen, "Little Ad Growth: Industry forecaster sees recovery at year-end," Advertising Age 62 6 May 1991: 16.

Dubbed the "great marketing turnaround,"[3] database marketing techniques enable a company to find and focus on those prospects with a favorable orientation toward the product and those who are most profitable. Some argue that by redirecting communications resources to these most likely prospects instead of mass audiences, wasteful communications are reduced and measurability for response and effects is greater.[4]

The term "bypass"[5] refers to the idea that many businesses are using computer database marketing methods to circumvent traditional mass media advertising vehicles in favor of direct marketing methods. It is estimated that newspapers in markets of 1 million households lost at least $4 million in advertising revenue in 1988 to database-driven direct marketing methods alone.[6]

Traditional mass media such as community newspaper, television, and radio may need to find better ways to compete for advertising budgets to maintain their economic support structure.

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[2] Joseph P. Manning and Susan P. Haynie, "How To Read Your Customers' Minds," American Demographics, July 1989: 40-41.

[3] Stan Rapp and Tom Collins, The Great Marketing Turnaround: The Age of the Individual and How to Profit from It, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1990): 140-141.

[4] Rapp and Collins, 140.

[5] Thomas B. Rosenstiel, "The Newspaper Business is Full of Awful Stories," The Los Angeles Times, 23 April 1990: D5, 1.

[6] Pamela M. Terrell, "Database Marketing: Friend or Foe?" Presstime, December 1990: 42.

In 1984, newspapers, television, and radio accounted for 78% of the $38 billion advertising expenditures for businesses classified as 'local'.[7] In 1991 these three mass media accounted for only 33.3% of the total $43.4 billion 'local' advertising expenditures.[8]

Advertising Objectives. Basic differences between national and retail advertising suggest they should be examined individually. National advertising objectives are typically long-term development of brand awareness, preference, and image. Retail campaigns frequently have short-term objectives related to generating store traffic, increasing inventory turnover, and promoting specific items.[9] This implies that the media selection decisions of local retail advertisers may involve some criteria unique to the local retail buying process.

Local Retail Advertisers. Because advertising expenditures are a crucial and costly component of success, local retailers often monitor decisions closely or handle them personally. Those making advertising decisions on a local level are often a diverse group with varying levels of education, experience, products, services, and company sizes. They are not necessarily likely to have formal education or special training in advertising. They often have limited time to spend on advertising-related tasks due to other management responsibilities such as accounting, sales management, finance, purchasing, inventory, personnel management, and customer services.

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[7] Cele Otnes and Ronald J. Faber, "An Examination of Variables Influencing Local Advertiser Media Selection," Proceedings of the 1989 Conference of The American Academy of Advertising, ed. Kim Rotzoll (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989): 57-62.

[8] Robert J. Coen, "Little Ad Growth: Industry forecaster sees recovery at year-end," Advertising Age 62, 6 May 1991: 16.

[9] Jesse E. Teel and William O. Bearden, "A Media Planning Algorithm for Retail Advertisers," Journal of Retailing 56.4 (Winter 1980): 23-40.

Local retail business owners or managers usually work directly with an employee of a local media firm without intermediary agents. The process begins with the sales presentation and continues as a one-to-one relationship. The sales transaction is direct, immediate, and personal.

Given the lack of formal advertising training, it is possible that local retailers' advertising decisions might be more influenced by personal experiences with the media both 'on-' and 'off-the-job'. Indeed, personal and professional use of the media may well overlap. Professional use of the media might include monitoring their own and their competitors' advertisements for content, production quality, and placement. This function might be performed deliberately or might occur unintentionally while using the media for another function such as entertainment. Familiarity with a medium and its advertisements may create a higher expectation level for ad quality or placement for the heavy user of that medium. Personal media use habits may influence local media-buying decisions in that individuals may be more inclined to favor those vehicles that they use most frequently, assuming that others have similar media interests and media use habits.

Attitudes toward advertising also may influence local retailers' media image. Those believing in the value, effectiveness, and necessity of advertising for business success might have different expectations and perceptions of media performance than those questioning those qualities. In addition, those deriving satisfaction and enjoyment from advertising planning, ad design, work sessions with media representatives, and other advertising-related tasks may also evaluate media differently from those finding such tasks frustrating or annoying.

An examination of local advertisers' attitudes toward local media may lead to a better understanding of their needs and motivations and enable local media to take steps to compete more effectively for limited advertising budgets. The purpose of this paper is to examine factors influencing local retail advertisers' image of their local media.

The Research Questions

1. How do local retail advertisers view and compare local media for the purposes of making advertising-related decisions?

2. What do they expect of their local media?

3. What factors influence local retail advertisers' formation of retail media image? Do market characteristics like product type and budget size play a role in the process? Do attitudes toward advertising and media use habits play a role?

LITERATURE REVIEW

An exploratory study by Otnes and Faber is the most thorough examination of media selection variables on a local retail level.[10] They drew a sample of 200 retailers from five categories (banks, grocery stores, automobile dealers, furniture, and restaurants) from the 1986 Metropolitan Yellow pages of one medium and one large size city in the Southwest. Response rate was 54.5% (N=109).

Media choices and budget allocations varied significantly by product category and advertising budget size. Respondents rated television, newspapers, and radio highest on informational content, conveying important message points, presenting an appropriate image, and generating store traffic. Newspapers were rated as most likely to be used by consumers for information on products. Direct mail and newspapers were significantly higher than other media in allowing consumers more time to remember the message. Television was reported by retailers as the most entertaining medium, but it was also rated the most difficult to produce and expensive to buy.

Otnes and Faber did not consider local retail advertisers' evaluations of the quality of service provided by their local media firms. They measured respondents' perceptions and evaluations, but did not measure respondents' expectations. They noted the lack of research on the topic in major advertising journals and suggested that further research on the relationship between retailer perceptions of and attitudes toward local media and their media mix selections would be beneficial to both researchers and practitioners.

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[10] Otnes and Faber, 57-62.

Service relationships. The quality of service provided by the media may play a role in local retail advertisers' perceptions of local media. The importance of service and personnel in sales relationships has been explored in marketing and retailing research.[11] Crosby, Evans, and Cowles found that the quality of the customer/salesperson relationship may serve as an indicator of "the health and future well-being of long-term service sales relationships."[12] They suggested the relationship is particularly critical in advertising due to the complex, customized, and on-going nature of the service.

Studies of advertising agency/client relationships are beyond the scope of this paper; however, they provide some insight into the importance of the advertiser/client relationship to the overall media selection process. Hotz, Ryans, and Shanklin studied perceptions and feelings of agencies and advertisers toward one another.[13] They found the overall agency/client relationship tended to be very positive. Negative factors were generally related to communications, service, and personnel rather than to advertising performance or effectiveness. In a similar study, Cagley reaffirmed the importance of what he called the "people factor" in the agency/client relationship.[14]

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[11] Janet Wagner, Richard Ettenson, and Jean Parrish, "Vendor Selection Among Retail Buyers: An Analysis by Merchandise Division," Journal of Retailing 65.1 (Spring 1989): 48-79.

Mary Jo Bitner, Bernard H. Booms, and Mary Stanfield Tetreault, "The Service Encounter: Diagnosing Favorable and Unfavorable Incidents," Journal of Marketing 54 (January 1990): 71-84.

[12] Lawrence A. Crosby, Kenneth R. Evans, and Deborah Cowles, "Relationship Quality in Services Selling: An Interpersonal Influence Perspective," Journal of Marketing 45 (July 1990): 68-81.

[13] Mary R. Hotz, John K. Ryans, Jr., and William L. Shanklin, "Agency/Client Relationships As Seen By Influentials On Both Sides," Journal of Advertising 11.1 (1982): 37-44.

Studies of service relationships suggest the importance of examining service quality when assessing the mutual relationship between local retail advertisers and their local media.

Economic theory. Decisions relating to advertising are made in the context of a business environment and relate to economic goals, requiring some discussion of economic theory as it relates to motivation and the decision-making process. Traditional economic theory maintains that managers make decisions to maximize profits and utility. This assumption has been challenged by behavioral economics, a relatively new branch of economic theory that seeks to "introduce more 'realistic' assumptions regarding the behavior of economic agents."[15] For example, behavioral economics suggests decision-making patterns may be anchored in long-standing routine or company policies.[16] Managers faced with the task of gathering and processing information in a complex environment may settle for decisions based on satisfactory rather than maximum profit levels.[17]

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[14] James W. Cagley, "A Comparison of Advertising Agency Selection Factors: Advertiser and Agency Perceptions," Journal of Advertising Research 26.3 (June/July 1986): 39-44.

[15] Richard E. Hattwick, "Behavioral Economics: An Overview," Journal of Business and Psychology 4.2 (Winter 1989): 141-153.

[16] Richard R. Nelson and Sidney Winter, An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1982).

[17] Hattwick, 145.

Advertising decisions are grounded in the economic need to maximize communication effectiveness within budget constraints. Yet advertising is a particularly complex task rooted in a dynamic and often unpredictable environment.[18] Gathering and processing the necessary information in a rapidly changing media environment can be a daunting task for the local retailer, who can afford to spend only part of his work day on advertising-related tasks.

National advertisers rely on research and selection models for media placement.[19] They conduct test situations to isolate marketing mix components and measure advertising effectiveness. In contrast, local advertisers "must often make decisions based simply on what they can afford and their perceptions of which media will be most useful for them.[20] Indeed, some advertising decisions may be related to what advertisers themselves like and to their personal and professional experiences with media.

Retail Image. Retail store image studies and measurement models are useful in discussing advertisers' overall perceptions or 'image' of local media. Store image has been described as the 'personality' of the store as it is represented to the public.[21] Like retail stores, media may also develop their own

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[18] Crosby, Evans, and Cowles, 70.

[19] Teel and Beardon, 25.

[20] Otnes and Faber, 57.

[21] Leon Arons, "Does Television Viewing Influence Store Image and Shopping Frequency?" Journal of Retailing 37 (1961): 1-13.

'personalities' or image within the minds of their viewing audiences and advertising customers.

Kunkel and Berry argue that image is a learned phenomena acquired through experiences that a shopper has with a store.[22] Local retail advertisers acquire direct experience when they interact with media firm personnel during the buying, planning, and production processes and as they evaluate outcomes relating to the advertisement and its effectiveness. They also experience the media in a non-professional or 'off the job' environment as a consumer of local media news, editorials, entertainment, and advertisements. Advertisements include their own, their competitors, and the self-promotional efforts of the media itself that might be directed to them in their role as audience member, retail advertiser, or both. They might also talk with others personally and professionally about their experiences with the media.

The media's dual role of professional business instrument and non-professional or 'off the job' personal instrument makes attitude formation of local retail advertisers toward local media a complex process with many variables. This study of local retail advertisers attempts to illuminate some possible variables; market characteristics, attitudes toward advertising, and media use habits.

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[22] John H. Kunkel and Leonard L. Berry, "A Behavioral Conception of Retail Image," Journal of Marketing 32 (October 1968): 22.

METHODS

The Sample. A stratified, systematic random sample of 255 local retail businesses was drawn from two mid-size cities in North Carolina (Raleigh and Charlotte) and three categories; banks, automobile dealers, and retail durables (furniture and clothing). Sampling two cities to some degree compensates for regional idiosyncrasies, characteristics, and biases inherent to each individual market.[23]

The sampling frame was each city's 1990-1991 telephone directory yellow pages.[24] Each business was telephoned in advance of the mailing to solicit the name of the person making advertising decisions for the business and their verbal agreement to complete the questionnaire. Follow up post cards were mailed to non-responsive subjects. The final response rate was 64 percent (N=165).

The Instrument. Respondents' expectations and perceptions of media performance were measured on six attributes representing the dimensions 'value', 'quality', and 'service'.[25] The two 'value' questions asked whether media should generate store traffic and be cost efficient at reaching prospective customers. The two 'quality' questions asked whether media should present an appropriate product image and convey important message points/be informative. Informativeness is related to the respondent's advertising and communication objectives and to the amount of information and message points they perceive as important to convey in an advertisement.[26]

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[23] Elizabeth C. Hirschman, Barnett Greenberg, and Dan H. Robertson, "The Intermarket Reliability of Retail Image Research: An Empirical Examination," Journal of Retailing 54.1 (Spring 1978): 3-11.

[24] The assumption was that local retail businesses are listed in the yellow pages since they rely heavily on telephone communications and rarely, if ever, list only in the white pages or have unpublished numbers.

[25] In a pre-test of the questionnaire, 19 evaluation variables were shown to group together on the dimensions 'value', 'channel characteristics or quality', and 'service' in factor analysis using principal components with varimax rotation.

The two 'service' questions asked whether employees of a media firm should keep their promises when they agree to do something by a certain time and should get adequate support from the management to do their jobs well.[27] The sale of the advertisement is just the beginning of a complex process involving copy, production, traffic, engineering, and accounting departments. When errors occur along this process, the advertiser often expects the media firm to support or 'back up' the initial sales agreement.

Respondents rated whether media firms should possess (expectations) the above-mentioned six attributes. Next, they rated five media (network/local television, cable television, radio, newspaper, and direct mail) on whether and to what degree each actually possesses (perceptions) the six attributes.[28]

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[26] Leonard N. Reid and Karen Whitehill King, "A Test Of Variation In Advertising Media Informativeness Within And Between National And Retail Advertising," American Marketing Association Educators' Proceedings, ed. Terence I. Shimp (Chicago: American Marketing Association, 1986): 209.

[27] A. Parasuraman, Valarie A. Zeithaml, and Leonard L. Berry, "SERVQUAL: A Multiple-Item Scale for Measuring Consumer Perceptions of Service Quality," Journal of Retailing 64.1 (Spring 1988): 13-40.

As a measure of media use, respondents were asked to rate the amount of attention they pay to the advertisements in each of the five media on a scale of 1 (hardly any attention) to 7 (a lot of attention). They also were asked to estimate the number of hours they spend in an average week with each of the five media.

Attitude toward advertising tasks and toward advertising in general were measured using a traditional semantic differential scale. Respondents were asked to describe their feelings about the time they spend working on advertising-related tasks on a scale of 7 (satisfying/enjoyable) to 1 (frustrating/annoying). Respondents' attitude toward advertising in general was similarly measured on a scale of 7 (valuable/necessary) to 1 (worthless/unnecessary).[29]

Analysis. This study's ultimate purpose was to examine the image formation process of local retail advertisers regarding their local media. Toward that end, much descriptive and evaluative data were collected about respondents' market characteristics, media use habits, attitudes toward advertising, and media performance ratings. Descriptive findings of these data are presented using frequencies and mean comparisons. Hierarchical regression addresses the relative influence of market characteristics, attitudes toward advertising, and media use habits on the media image formation process.

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[28] Linda L. Golden, Gerald Albaum, and Mary Zimmer, "The Numerical Comparative Scale: An Economical Format for Retail Image Measurement," Journal of Retailing 63.4 (Winter 1987): 393-411. The numerical comparative scale, a modified semantic differential scale, was used for these measurements.

[29] Darrel D. Muehling, "An Investigation of Factors Underlying Attitude-Toward-Advertising-In-General," Journal of Advertising 16.1 (1987): 32-40.

Media image was measured by adapting a multi-attribute attitude measurement model from retail store image literature. Fishbein developed a predictive model based on the hypothesis that an individual's attitude toward an object is a function of his beliefs about the object and the evaluative aspects of those beliefs.[30] The overall attitude toward the object is the sum of all attribute attitudes. Fishbein's multi-attribute model has been adapted to marketing,[31] brand image studies,[32] and to retail store image measurement.[33]

The retail store image model defines attitude toward a store as the product of the customer's expectations and perceptions on salient aspects of the store.[34] Based on this model, the concept 'media image' is defined for this study as the product of advertisers' expectations and perceptions on salient aspects of the media. The media image model is as follows:

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[30] Martin Fishbein, "An Investigation of the Relationships Between Beliefs About an Object and the Attitude Toward That Object," Human Relations 16.2 (May 1963): 233-239.

[31] G. David Hughes, Attitude Measurement for Marketing Strategies, (Glenview, Il: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971): 57.

[32] Frank M. Bass and W. Wayne Talarzyk, "An Attitude Model for the Study of Brand Preference," Journal of Marketing Research 9 (February, 1972): 95.

[33] Don L. James, Richard M. Durand, and Robert A. Dreves, "The Use of a Multi-Attribute Attitude Model in a Store Image Study," Journal of Retailing 52.2 (Summer, 1976): 26.

[34] James Durand and Dreves, 26.

$$A_m = \sum_{i=1}^{n} B_i W_i$$

where:

Am = attitude toward a particular medium

Bi = the evaluative aspect or belief toward attribute i for a particular medium (perception)

Wi = the weight or importance of attribute i (expectation)

n = the number of attributes important in the selection of media.

FINDINGS

Just over half of the sample (56.5%) were retail durables businesses (furniture and clothing stores). About one fourth of the sample (26.1%) were automobile dealers, and the balance (17.4%) were banks (n=163). The advertising decision-maker (respondent) was the owner 44% of the time and an employee manager 57.8% of the time.

A fairly even distribution of large, mid-size, and small local retail businesses were represented in the final sample. Approximately half (52.2%) of respondents reported monthly budgets under $6,000. Mid-size businesses with budgets ranging from $6,000 to $18,000 made up about one-fourth of the sample (25.8%). Larger businesses with budgets over $18,000 made up the remaining 22% of the sample.

Respondents' mean expectations ratings ranged between 6 and 7 on all six attributes as shown in Table 1. Attribute ratings were added by dimension group to compare advertiser expectations on the three underlying dimensions 'value', 'channel quality', and 'service'. Respondents rated service quality highest (13.3) in attribute saliency, followed by value (13.1) and channel quality (12.7).

Table 1 about here

Table 1 also shows respondents' perceptions of the degree to which each of the five media actually possess the six stated attributes. Mean ratings for each attribute by medium show that respondents ranked television, newspaper, and direct mail highest on 'information', 'presents appropriate product image', and 'generates store traffic'. This is in contrast to the Otnes and Faber results ranking television, newspaper, and radio highest on these three variables. Respondents ranked direct mail highest on cost efficiency.

On the 'service' variables, newspaper ranked first on reliability of a media firm in keeping promises, but third on whether the media firm supports their employees to do their jobs well. Network/local television was rated highest on the service dimensions, ranking first on 'support' and second (after newspaper) on 'reliability.' Cable television ranked last on service variables. Local access to cable is not yet available in many markets. Local retail advertisers may not have enough service-related experience yet with local cable.

Table 2 shows respondents reported that they pay more attention to newspaper advertisements than to advertisements in the four other media. They reported paying the least amount of attention to cable television and direct mail advertisements.

Table 2 also shows that respondents report spending less 'off-the-job' or personal time with newspapers than with all other media. They report spending the most time with network/local television, followed by radio and cable television.[35]

Table 2 about here

Measures of attitude toward media are shown in Tables 3 and 4. Table 3 shows that slightly over half of respondents find advertising-related tasks enjoyable or satisfying (51.5%). Only 11.7% are frustrated or annoyed by the tasks; 36.8% were neutral. A majority of respondents (69.9%) agreed that advertising is valuable and necessary. But 10.4% rated advertising as worthless and unnecessary, and 19.6% were neutral.

Tables 3 and 4 about here

Regression. One way to assess factor saliency is by using multiple regression analysis. Media image, measured based on the model, represents the dependent variable. Respondents' product type, budget size, attitudes toward advertising, and media use habits are the independent variables. Regression analysis provides a method of determining which factors are important and influence media image ratings.

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[35] Most respondents marked direct mail time spent as none or one-half hour. Therefore, direct mail was recoded to a binomial variable reflecting whether advertisers read their direct mail or not--'yes' or' no'. Respondents reporting that they do read direct mail solicitations numbered 42.3 percent.

Hierarchical regression groups common independent variables when entering them in the regression equation in order to determine their relative influence upon the dependent variable. The purpose of this regression analysis was to determine the relative influence of 1) market characteristics (product type and budget size); 2) media use habits (attention to advertisements and time spent with media); and 3) attitudes to advertising (attitudes to advertising in general and to advertising-related tasks) on respondents' media image ratings.[36]

Previous research has shown that product type and budget size significantly influence local advertisers' choices of media.[37] Therefore, product type and budget size were entered first in the equation to control for them while examining the influence of attitudes and media use.

Table 5 about here

Table 5 shows that market characteristics accounted for 12% (R^2=.12) of the variance in media image ratings for network/local television (p=.000). Controlling for market characteristics, media use accounted for 10% and attitude for 2% of the variance (changes in R^2). These are both significant (p=.000), suggesting that media use and attitudes play a role in the formation of media image.

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[36] Therefore, the linear additive regression equation model for this analysis reads: "Media image rating" is a function of "[market characteristics] plus [media-use habits] plus [attitudes to advertising]."

[37] Otnes and Faber, 60.

Partial correlations are significant for television media image ratings and budget size (beta=.30, p=.001) and for attention to advertisements (beta=.26, p=.001).[38]

Partial correlations for attitudes were not significant. However, it should be noted that the correlation between media image rating and attitudes toward ad-related tasks is negative. Respondents who take a positive interest in advertising tasks, reporting it as satisfying and enjoyable, may be more critical in their evaluations of media image than those who find advertising-related tasks frustrating or annoying.

It is not possible to present the regression results for all five media in this paper due to length constraints. It should be noted that hierarchical regression results were similar for the other media in this study.

CONCLUSIONS

Research about advertisers' media choices often relies on analyses of the media that advertisers buy, assuming that the apparent relative popularity of the media is implied by the amount of advertising dollars invested in each of them. Yet advertisers face many constraints and considerations when choosing advertising media. Retail advertisers must choose a media mix that will optimize advertising campaign objectives within limited advertising budgets. They must consider their product inventory and pricing strategies, as well as external factors such as prevailing seasons and economic conditions.

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[38] Partial correlations (beta) reflect the relative influence of one variable controlling for all other variables in the equation. The beta reflects the unique contribution of the variable.

Clearly, decisions are more than matters of personal tastes, attitudes, or experiences. However, these factors may play some role in media choice behavior. Unlike previous studies, this study did not focus on respondents' media choice behavior. Instead, it looked at the way advertisers form overall impressions of their local media. If attitude is an indication of behavior, a better understanding of the local retailer's media image formation process would provide further insight into media choice behavior.

Service. Local retail advertisers appear to expect good service from their local media. Among the given attributes, respondents in this study rated 'service quality' expectations highest. This indicates respondents consider service quality the most important dimension of media performance, and they expect media to be reliable, supportive, and responsive to their needs.

Channel quality evaluations ranked last. This may indicate that respondents recognize there are limits to each media vehicle's transmission abilities, but they place fewer limits on what they expect of people in providing service. In other words, channel quality is related to technology, whereas service is more human and personal, having to do with professionalism and the way advertisers expect to be treated. These findings appear to confirm the importance of considering service quality when studying local retail advertising and including it in measurements of media image.

Network/local television ranked first on the overall 'service quality' dimension. Newspaper ranked first on reliability of a media firm in keeping promises, but third behind television and direct mail on whether the media

firm supports their employees to do their jobs well. This might reflect a greater amount of trust and respect for the sales representative than for the media firm's management. It also might indicate that sales representatives position themselves as being on the advertiser's 'side' in any disputes or 'broken promises' that arise in the course of business.

Newspapers, unlike broadcast media, generally do not negotiate rates with advertisers. The results of this study may indicate that the rigid pricing policies of newspapers convey a negative image of management. While the television and radio representative is willing to discuss rates and 'check back with the boss' for approval on rate negotiations, the newspaper representative simply presents a new rate card each year. This may be conveying a sense of 'take it or leave it' that reflects in advertisers' image of media management and on their overall image of the newspaper media. In the face of dropping readership and revenues, newspapers may need to re-think pricing and service policies toward a more flexible, customer-oriented approach for pricing and presentation.

Value. Newspaper advertisements appear to generate the most store traffic, according to respondents. A limitation of this measurement, however, is the probability that different media accomplish different kinds of advertising goals. It is difficult to measure the long-term benefits of institutional or image advertisements that are sometimes well-suited for television or radio.

In comparing results to the Otnes and Faber 1984 study, this study found that direct mail displaced radio among the top three media on the variables 'conveys important message points/informative', 'presents appropriate product image', and 'generates store traffic'.[39] This is possibly a reflection of the increasing availability of direct mail methods at the local level.

As newspaper and broadcast rates rise yearly, direct mail has in a sense become more cost efficient for local advertisers despite increased absolute costs in postage. User-friendly database software enables advertisers to tap into their own customer files and to purchase customer information that allows more narrowly-targeted advertising appeals. Indeed, desktop publishing software for personal computers even enables advertisers to bring production in-house in the form of newsletters and advertising flyers.

By targeting the advertising message to their most-likely prospects, some advertisers argue that they can reduce waste and increase measurability. For example, banks can promote specially-tailored products and services to their most profitable customers and to those most likely to buy. Through direct response offerings, they can also increase measurability by tracking each targeted individual for participation levels.

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[39] Otnes and Faber 60.

That respondents in this study ranked direct mail first on 'cost efficiency' may also be reflecting these characteristics of direct mail to reduce waste and increase measurability as compared with the other four media in this study. Direct mail advertising at the local level is not new, but it may be increasingly accessible and desirable due to cost efficiency, measurability, and possible frustrations with the fragmentation of broadcast and newspaper media markets. One survey respondent noted:

> Advertising is a very intangible tool for use on the retail level (one owner/manager situation) and probably we as advertisers waste 'most' of our media advertising. I believe national companies with products geared to sell everyone (toothpaste, etc) must advertise nationally and probably can graft its effectiveness (sales volume increase vs. money spent) and thus a science can be established statistically. Advertising on limited budgets (the one owner/manager concept) must be used as effectively as possible to actually bring each client into the store! Therefore, one on one situations like direct mail and telephone are indispensable, the rest is intangible.

Channel Quality. Newspapers ranked first on both 'channel quality' dimensions: 'presents appropriate product image' and 'conveys message points/informative'. This probably reflects the long-standing traditional role of newspapers as a primary advertising vehicle at the local retail level. Clearly, local retail advertisers approve of the image newspaper advertisements lend to their businesses and are comfortable with newspaper's print transmission qualities.

Network/local television ranked second on the 'channel quality' attributes. Given the increased acceptance of direct mail and its ability to present lengthy and detailed messages, it seems that direct mail might have ranked above television on these attributes, particularly on 'conveys message points/informative'. These findings suggest direct mail may be more of a threat to radio than to local television in the competition for local advertising budgets.

Media Use. Respondents reported paying more attention to newspaper than broadcast advertisements during the course of their personal media use. This may be due to the fact that a large percentage of broadcast ads are national and regional rather than local. In contrast, a larger percent of newspaper ads are local than regional or national. It may also reflect the fact that advertisers can often deliberately control time and place circumstances when reviewing newspaper advertisements. In contrast, it would be difficult for an advertiser to deliberately and consistently monitor radio or television broadcasts for advertisements.

Varied motivations for using a medium might also affect attention to advertisements. For example, if the newspaper is used for news while the television is used for entertainment, advertisements in the newspaper may be more critically analyzed.

Further research on this topic applying uses and gratification theory may be beneficial.

Findings suggest advertisers' media use habits play a role in the formation of their overall image of local media. Self-reported attention to advertisements correlated positively with media image, indicating those who monitor advertisements may be more satisfied with media performance. Broadcast media might find it beneficial to consider making advertisers' own and competitors' ads more readily available for review. New audio and video equipment such as portable video cassette recorders make video more transportable. Evidence that attention to advertising has a significant influence on media image formation suggests that advertisers might consider such services valuable but could raise ethical questions regarding salesperson-to-client trust.

Attitudes Toward Advertising. A negative correlation between attitudes toward advertising-related tasks and overall media image ratings indicates that advertisers who take more interest in planning and implementing advertising may more critically evaluate the performance of local media. That is, those respondents who take a positive interest in advertising and report it as satisfying and enjoyable work may be more critical in their evaluations of media image than those who find advertising-related tasks frustrating or annoying. Those who are frustrated or annoyed may not follow through and make critical evaluations about the produced advertisement and its effectiveness.

Not surprisingly, most respondents reported belief in the overall worth and necessity of advertising. When taken together, attitudes toward ad-related tasks and toward advertising in general appear to play a role in the local advertiser's overall media image formation process.

In Conclusion. Media generally direct promotional efforts toward their viewing audience with the assumption that advertisers will follow. Results of this study suggest that it also may be important to consider factors such as advertisers' personal media use habits and attitudes toward advertising when examining media choice behavior. This suggests that promotional efforts targeted directly to local advertisers may shape advertiser attitudes and images of the media.

If perceptions and attitudes lead to behavior, it is crucial that a business in a free market economy understand its customers to achieve profit and growth goals. Financial support for U.S. media comes largely from the sale of advertising. Competition for advertising budgets has threatened the very survival of some media in the face of recession, new media choices, decreasing budgets, and changing lifestyles of audiences. Traditional mass media, such as newspaper, television, and radio, may need to find better ways to compete for advertising budgets.

This research seems to indicate that media representatives require a broad understanding of the functions of various media as they apply to local retail advertisers' communication objectives. Local advertisers have many choices and will probably become more sophisticated in their knowledge of media opportunities. Local representatives of the media must strive to understand advertisers' strategies and choice options so they can position their own media products and services within their advertising customers' communication goals. A qualified and trained media representative who can elicit from clients information relating to personal media use habits and attitudes toward advertising could develop a better understanding of client needs and expectations.

Retail store image studies have proven useful in defining and examining the local advertisers' perceptions and attitudes toward their local media. Store image is made up of a number of components or dimensions along which consumers perceive the store.[40] The number of components often depends on the researchers' method of categorizing the components[41]. The three media components for this study were categorized as 'value', 'channel quality', and 'service'. Future research on the topic should focus on developing a less researcher-driven model. A study using open-ended questions to determine attribute saliency might be particularly useful in improving the media image model. The model itself is sound, yet flexible, so that more attributes could replace or be added to the six used in this study.

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[40] G.H.G. McDougall and J.N. Fry, "Combining Two Methods of Image Measurement," Journal of Retailing 50.4 (Winter 1974-1975): 53-61.

[41] Leonard L. Berry, "The Components of Department Store Image: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis," Journal of Retailing 45 (Spring 1969): 3-20.

More research is needed to define and examine local advertisers' expectations, perceptions, and attitudes toward their local media. Measuring the media image of local media firms using the proposed model may be worthwhile. A periodical survey of local retail advertisers using the media image model could help establish a local media firm's competitive position in the community's media marketplace and guide self-promotional strategies. Media could establish a baseline image rating for tracking changes and trends over time.

The model could also help determine whether market segmentation strategies would be applicable to the media firm by analyzing the differences in media image held by different types of advertisers. The relative influence different advertisers place on value, channel quality, and service dimensions of media performance could be monitored to guide sales strategies.

Media may need to follow the lead of other industries currently attempting to strengthen their competitive positions by focussing on customer satisfaction and loyalty. Research to identify and explain factors that influence advertiser evaluations of the media could help achieve a better understanding of the decision-making process and of customer expectations regarding sales, production, and overall advertising objectives.

Retail store image studies have found that the more favorable the store image, the more likely are the consumers to shop and buy in a particular store.[42] By the same logic, it can be assumed that the more favorable the media image, the more likely businesses are to advertise with a particular medium. However, the complex mix of communication technologies, ideologies, and people involved in advertising business and creative exchanges suggests other possible components of media image that might relate to factors such as editorial differences or personality conflict.

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[42] Doyle and Fenwick 42.

The generalizations resulting from this study should be viewed as tentative, however. Replication is needed with other markets, media, and retailer product classes. More research is needed on this new approach to defining and measuring local retail advertisers' evaluations of media using media image measurement.

Table 1. Mean Expectation/Perception Ratings by Attribute

	Expectations	Perceptions				
Attributes	Mean	Network TV	Cable TV	Newspaper	Radio	Direct Mail
Generates traffic	6.5	4.7	3.4	5.3	4.0	4.6
Cost efficient	6.6	3.2	3.6	4.4	3.6	4.6
VALUE	13.1					
Presents appropriate image	6.4	5.1	4.0	5.6	4.2	4.8
Informative	6.3	5.0	4.0	5.4	4.2	4.9
CHANNEL QUALITY	12.7					
Keeps promises	6.8	5.4	5.0	5.6	5.3	5.2
Supports employees	6.5	5.2	4.6	4.9	4.7	5.0
SERVICE QUALITY	13.3					

* Range = 1-7: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree
N=163

Table 2: Attention to Ads and Weekly Hours by Medium.

Variables	Network TV	Cable TV	Newspaper	Radio	Direct Mail
Attention to Ads*	4.7	3.6	5.2	4.0	3.6
Hours per Week	8.1	4.2	3.8	5.1	n/a**

*Range 1-7: 1=Hardly any attention; 7=A lot of attention
**Direct mail responses ranged were recoded into 'No' (do not read direct mail) and 'Yes' (Do read direct mail).

Table 3. Frequency Distribution and Mean By Attitude Toward Advertising Tasks

Attitude Ad Tasks	Percent (n=163)
Frustrating/ Annoying	11.7
Neutral	36.8
Satisfying/ Enjoyable	51.5
Totals	100.0

Table 4. Frequency Distribution and Mean By Attitude Toward Advertising In General

Attitude To Advertising In General	Percent (n=163)
Worthless/ Unnecessary	10.4
Neutral	19.6
Valuable/ Necessary	70.0
	100.0

Table 5. Hierarchical Regression of Television Media Image Ratings on Media Use and Attitudes, Controlling for Market Characteristics.

	R	R^2	Chg R^2	beta	r	p
Marketing Characteristics:						
Product Type				.16	.15	.107
Budget Size				.30	.34	.001
	.35	.12	--			.000
Media Use:						
Attention to Advertisements				.26	.32	.001
Time spent with media				.12	.16	.089
	.48	.22	.10			.000
Attitudes:						
Advertising in general				.12	.25	.107
Advertising tasks				-.02	.18	.836
	.49	.24	.02			.000

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TELEVISION NEWS AND ADS AS SOURCES OF ISSUE INFORMATION

-- Another Piece for the Puzzle Board

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Abstract

Based on a study conducted in Onondaga County, NY, 1972 (Patterson & McClure, 1976), many synthesizers claim that political ads in television are informative, but news is not. But a study (Zhao and Chaffee, 1986) conducted in Dane County, WI, 1984 found the opposite: television news was informative, but ads were not.

This study, based on telephone survey conducted in Orange County, NC, 1990, attempts to replicate those two studies. Regression technique was used to analyze the data.

Every truth has two sides; it is well to look at both before we commit ourselves to either.

-- Aesop ("The Mule")

TELEVISION NEWS AND ADS AS SOURCES OF ISSUE INFORMATION

One of the most commonly repeated generalizations in the research literature on political mass communication is the conclusion of Patterson and McClure (1976) that American voters learn issue information from television advertisements but not from television news.

"Network news," they wrote (p. 54) "may be fascinating. It may be highly entertaining. But it is simply not informative." They were equally definite about TV commercials, both as to their *in*effectiveness for projecting candidate images and their power to communicate about issues.

"Spot ads do not mold presidential images because voters are not easily misled," they concluded (p. 115). "But where image appeals fail, issue appeals work" (p. 116). The "information gain" related to candidates' issue positions "represents no small achievement" in their view (p. 117).

Synthesizers of the field have readily absorbed the Patterson-McClure conclusions into textbooks and review chapters. Kraus and Davis (1981) called it a "controversial but widely accepted analysis" that "people learned more from television advertising than from television news" (p. 278). Nimmo (1978, p.385) cited Patterson and McClure and reported that "television's political advertising, not news, is the key source of information."

Diamond (1980, pp.61-62) noted that "these findings were meant to be as much a criticism of television news as praise of television commercials." Graber (1989, pp. 195), on the other hand, argued for the apparent superiority of commercials because of their "simplicity of content, expert eye-ear appeal, and repetition of the message." O'Keefe and Atwood (1981, p. 339) said with a note of surprise that "*even* campaign commercials surpassed television network newscasts in providing voters with knowledge of the candidates issue stand" (emphasis ours).

The implication is significant. There has been a debate on whether the American public is rational, a debate considered "of vital importance for both the theory and practice of democracy" (Maass, 1966, Forward). Voters' issue awareness or the lack of it has been a key idea underlying the debate: an informed electorate implies rationality (Key, 1966; Page & Shapiro, 1992), the lack of it implies irrationality

(Lazarsfeld, 1944; Campbell et al, 1960). Since a majority of people depend more on television for their news than on any other media (McLeod & McDonald, 1985), it is important to know whether voters receive most of their information from television news, which is supposed to inform, or from television ads, which are designed to sell.

Patterson and McClure's conclusions, therefore, deserve careful examination. Support for their conclusions came from two major sources: content analysis and audience survey. The content analysis indicated that evening network newscasts in 1972 contained less issue-related information about the Nixon and McGovern campaigns than did the campaign advertisements that were televised. Similar results come from a replication by Kern (1989). Her content analysis examined news and ads about the Reagan-Mondale campaigns that were aired from 6 to 9 p.m. on the three major networks during the week prior to election day 1984. She found a higher percentage of horse-race reporting than issue information in the news, while the percentage of issue information was higher in ads than in news.

These findings, we argue, do not support Patterson and McClure's findings, although they are interesting for other reasons. First, in terms of informing the audience, percentage of information is not as important as the length of the broadcast. For example, a campaign ad that is 10 minutes long, even if it includes 100% information, will still have half the information of a newscast that is an hour long but contains only 33% information. In this example, audiences should have a better chance of being exposed to information in news rather than ads.

Further, if one examines the relative amount of time spent by news and ads in covering issues, the period immediately before election day is a biased sample of the year, prime time is a biased sample of the broadcast day, and the content of the three networks are not representative of television content. People learn about the candidates and issues throughout the year, not just during the last-minute campaign flurry. In the beginning of the campaign, few ads are aired, yet future voters learn a lot about the issues and at least some of future candidates' issue stands. The audience can learn about issues from stories about the political conventions or even follow-up coverage of major news events such as the Los Angeles civil disturbances. By concentrating on prime-time news coverage, one would eliminate such shows as 20/20, Primetime Live, 60 Minutes, Night Line, Face the Nation, and morning shows, where many live interviews and news analyses occur, while few political ads intrude. By concentrating on three networks, one would eliminate PBS, CNN, and Headline News, where issues and candidates's stands are reported but political ads are less likely.

More importantly, even if television ads have more hours of issue coverage than television news (which is unlikely, if one thinks about all the news that airs during the campaign), more hours do not necessarily translate into more effectiveness. Communication researchers have long argued that selective exposure (Hyman & Sheatsley, 1947) and source credibility (Hoveland & Kelley, 1953) play significant roles in message effectiveness. Advertising researchers have recognized that audience involvement level diminishes once advertisements are on (Krugman, 1965; Webb & Ray, 1979) and viewers don't trust ads even if they watch. It is possible, then, that one minute of news is more effective than one minute of ads because the news is more likely to be watched, attended to, and believed, a possibility supported by the experimental findings (Salmon, 1985) that news is more effective than ads even when the two have identical content. However, a counter-argument in favor of ads can be made: one minute of an advertisement may be more informative than one minute of a news item because ads are often carefully planned and executed with intention to sell a well-specified point, and the same ad is typically repeated many times. Except in extreme cases (when ads or news contain no issues and one or both cannot be informative), the findings from a content analysis, whether measured in hours or percentages, are not important measures in judging the relative strengths of news vs. ads in informing an audience.

So we have to turn to audience research to find supporting evidence if we are to believe Patterson & McClure's categorical generalizations. But the evidence is, again, less than one might expect. They assessed the correlation between exposure to media messages and an index of change in subjective certainty about where Nixon and McGovern (mostly Nixon) stood on various issues. A typical item was the following:

"George McGovern favors spending less money on the military." Response scale: extremely likely, quite likely, slightly likely, not sure, slightly unlikely, quite unlikely, and extremely unlikely. The more certain the respondent became (in either direction from "not sure") from Wave 1 to Wave 2 of their survey, the more "issue awareness" was inferred.

The measure of exposure to television news was dichotomized, so that "regular viewers" were those who had watched network evening news at least four nights per week; 34 percent of their sample in Onondaga County, New York (Syracuse and environs) met this criterion. Exposure to spot ads was tapped by asking how many hours the person watched prime-time (7-11 p.m.) TV, "the period during which most political spots were aired." Viewers were placed in the high exposure category--unless they had watched less than one hour per day, so that 69 percent were high exposure viewers.

The empirical tests underlying the authors' sweeping conclusions consisted simply of comparing the two groups, high and low exposure, to see if the high exposure group increased more in subjective certainty of issue awareness. For news, the high exposure group failed to meet this test; for ads, the high exposure group did become more certain of their issue perceptions.

Despite its thorough acceptance, generalization based on such analysis rests on fragile ground. It has not been replicated by other investigators nor in more recent elections. It is based on raw correlations that represent individual differences, not controlled tests of a causal model. The dependent measure--self-confidence in issue knowledge--may not be the most valid operationalization of the concept of issue knowledge. And the measures of the supposedly competing independent variables--ads vs. news--were not comparable.

Zhao and Chaffee (1986) argued that Patterson and McClure's findings may be spurious, the result of intellectual deficits in the audience that led to both heavy reliance on TV for news and lack of certainty about issue differences between Nixon and McGovern. The different cutoff points for the two measures (69 percent high on ad exposure, 34 percent high on news) could account for differential correlations, as could ceiling effects within the high ad exposure group--i.e., the heavy TV viewing audience in general.

More appropriate measures of independent variables might also make a difference. Patterson (1980, p. 82) noted that "people often are not closely attentive to the news they see," and several recent studies have shown that measures of attention to TV news correlate positively with political knowledge, whereas measures of frequency of news exposure correlate negatively (McLeod and McDonald, 1985; Chaffee and Schleuder, 1986; Lasorsa, 1986). In his study of the 1976 election campaign, Patterson (1980) replicated the finding from 1972 regarding news exposure, but did not add an attention measure nor replicate the 1972 finding that he and McClure had related to advertisements.

The Patterson-McClure work has been publicized heavily. As a result, the television news industry may have instituted some reforms, striving to cover issue content more than was the case in the era of Spiro Agnew's strident attacks on the news media, and the bitterly ideological elections of the Vietnam War years. That kind of change also would render the inferences from 1972 obsolete. That is, the inferences may have been valid at that time but not for all time as the broad generalizations drawn from them would seem to imply.

Two studies support arguments against Patterson and McClure's generalizations. Hofstetter, Zukin and Buss (1978) used regression to analyze data from a national survey regarding the 1972 Nixon-McGovern election. They reported that, when demographic and political variables are controlled, neither network news nor political ads are associated with more political information. When all the controls are dropped, however, it appears that "network news produced almost twice the effect on information than political advertising" (p. 569). Zhao and Chaffee (1986) conducted a study in Dane County, Wisconsin, during the Reagan-Mondale presidential race. They used issue knowledge (instead of self-confidence in issue knowledge) as the dependent variable and attention (instead of exposure) to news and to ads as the independent variables. They controlled for ten variables including demographics, campaign activities, and general political knowledge. They reported that television news was informative, but television ads were not.

Zhao and Chaffee's study, however, has not been published, and it, along with the Hofstetter, Zukin and Buss (1978) study, remains comparatively obscure within the synthesizing literature. Further, the investigators considered their study "no more generalizable" than the Patterson and McClure study, and they called for more "experimentation" (Zhao & Chaffee, 1986, p. 18).

In this paper we report an attempt to replicate the studies conducted by Patterson and McClure and by Zhao and Chaffee. (We are unable to replicate Hofstetter et al's study at the technical level because they did not describe their measures and models in detail.) We will use a data set collected in Orange County, North Carolina, during the 1990 Helms-Gantt senatorial race. Of course, a sample from Orange County, North Carolina, is no more representative than Zhao and Chaffee's (1986) sample from Dane County, Wisconsin, or Patterson and McClure's (1976) sample from Onondaga County, New York. The Helms-Gantt campaign of 1990 is no more representative than the Reagan-Mondale campaign of 1984 or the Nixon-McGovern campaign of 1972. The objective of this study is not to determine the "truth" once and for all but instead to add another piece to the puzzle board. We hope this additional piece will lead to a clearer look at the general picture.

To be comparable with the Zhao and Chaffee study, we will use knowledge as a dependent variable, and we will employ independent measures that refer to attention to both ads and news specifically related to the candidates. We will introduce a number of control variables to reduce the danger of accepting spurious correlations as causal evidence. To be comparable with the Patterson-McClure study, we will also use self-confidence in issue knowledge as a second dependent variable and frequency of exposure to ads and news as a second pair of independent variables.

Methods

This study is based on a survey conducted in November, 1990, immediately after the senatorial election, in Orange County, North Carolina. Sampling was based on random digit dialing. Interviews were conducted through telephone by students of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill enrolled in an introductory research methods class. The total sample consisted of 351 respondents. Thirty three (9.4%) of the respondents were dropped from the analysis due to missing values in the dependent variables. The valid N for this study is 318.

There is some danger of non-representativeness in this survey. Residents of Orange County, which is a part of the Research Triangle area and houses the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, are on average well-educated, politically active, and predominantly liberal. We see no obvious reason, though, to suspect that the unusual character of this community would affect the relationships among the variables of interest to us in this study. Indeed, the general relevance to respondents of a survey on political issues and behaviors can be more readily assumed here than in places where a strong sense of political efficacy would be the exception and not the rule.

Issue Awareness. The concept of issue awareness has earned a central position in political behavior research in recent decades, as party identification has declined in the American electorate. Policy voting appears, correlatively, to be on the rise (Nie, Verba and Petrocik, 1976). Learning how the candidates differ on major issues of public concern and campaign debate is an obvious necessary step if people are to live up to Key's (1966) principle that "voters are not fools." Part of the general theory underlying freedom of the press has been that it helps to provide the electorate with competing viewpoints on divisive issues, so that elections reflect the public will rather than the appeal of particular personalities.

We used fourteen questions to measure the respondents' perceptions of the positions of each candidate on seven issues: "I am going to read you a list of proposals; please tell me where you think Harvey Gantt and Jesse Helms stand on these issues (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree). The issues included the federal funding for education, defense spending, industrial pollution, welfare spending, affirmative action, death penalty, and abortion. The complete text of each item, and the percentages who ascribed various positions to Helms and Gantt, are shown in Table 1.

While no "true" position of either candidate on any issue could be determined with certainty, it is clear that the majority of respondents saw Gantt as somewhere to the left of Helms on each issue. We scored these _relative_ perceptions as correct (1 point each), regardless of the absolute position assigned to either candidate. If Helms and Gantt were seen as holding the same position, a score of zero was assigned; a negative score (minus-1) was assigned if the respondent saw Helms to the left of Gantt on the issue, or if the respondent admitted that he or she did not know the candidates' positions. The rationale for this scoring procedure is that, while determining the _absolute_ position of either candidate on any issue is problematic, Gantt and Helms presented the electorate with such clear policy contrasts that their _relative_ positions can be assessed as operative voter information with a high degree of validity. (Another two issues, regarding maternity leave and support for tobacco industry, were dropped from our analysis because positions of either or both candidates were unknown.)

Table 2 shows the distribution of these scores across the six issues, and Table 3 shows the intercorrelations among the items. All these correlations are significant and reasonably strong considering the restricted variances of the items. The index of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) based on these intercorrelations yields a reliability coefficient of 0.82, which is noticeably higher than the comparable index (0.75) reported by Zhao and Chaffee.

Scores from the seven items were summed to create an index of issue awareness for each respondent. The distribution is shown in Table 4. It is somewhat skewed to the high side, because many of the respondents knew most or all of the issue differences between the candidates. Still, there is considerable variance for our analysis, with more than 26% of the respondents scoring at or below chance (i.e. a net score of zero).

We have given special attention to the univariate properties of the measure of issue awareness because our major hypothesis-testing analyses will focus on this dependent variable. We constructed this dependent variable in virtually the same way Zhao and Chaffee constructed theirs.[1] We hope this will facilitate comparison between the two studies.

Knowledge Confidence. Patterson and McClure used self-confidence in issue knowledge as their dependent variable. While we have said this measure may not be a valid operationalization of issue awareness, we will use it as our second dependent variable to facilitate comparison between this study and the Patterson-McClure study.

In this study, the measure of knowledge confidence was constructed from 18 questions that asked the respondent's perception of the positions of each candidate on nine issues. Fourteen of these questions were also used to construct the issue awareness measure. The other four questions (regarding maternity leave and government support for tobacco industry) were dropped from the construction of issue awareness variable. The complete text of each of these eighteen questions, and the percentages who ascribed various positions to Helms and Gantt, are shown in Table 1.

A respondent's self-confidence in his or her knowledge was measured by the total number of valid answers (any response other than "don't know"): a score of zero was assigned for each "don't know"; a score of one was assigned for any other answers (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree); scores from the eighteen items were then summed to create an index of knowledge confidence for each respondent. The distribution is shown in Table 4. Although it is somewhat skewed to the high side, there is still considerable variance for our analysis.

Attention to TV News and Ads. The major independent variables of this study are attention to campaign news and attention to campaign ads. Attention to campaign news was the sum of the responses to the two questions:

"When you saw television news stories about the Helms/Gantt campaign, how much attention did you pay to them -- close attention (coded as 4), some attention (coded as 3), little attention (coded as 2), or no attention at all (coded as 1)?" The correlation between the two items is 0.77 ($p < 0.001$).

Attention to campaign ads was the sum of the responses to two parallel questions:

"When you saw the Helms'/Gantt's advertisements on TV, how much attention did you pay to them -- close attention (coded as 4), some attention (coded as 3), little attention (coded as 2), or no attention at all (coded as 1)?" The correlation between the two items is 0.68 ($p < 0.001$).

The wordings are as nearly identical as possible, so that the questions provide a clear comparison between the two aspects of TV that Patterson and McClure and Zhao and Chaffee attempted to contrast: news stories and commercial advertisements. Following the Zhao-Chaffee study, these items refer to both news and ads about the specific candidates -- not to news in general vs. ads for candidates, as was the case in the Patterson-McClure study. We see no reason to expect other news (e.g., international events, crime and accidents, weather and sports) to contribute to knowledge of candidates' issue differences; the inclusion of such "noise" in their news exposure measure may well have reduced Patterson and McClure's chances of finding a significant correlation.

Exposure to TV News and Ads. Patterson and McClure used frequency of exposure to news and ads as their independent variables. While we have argued exposure may not be the most sensitive measure to detect communication effects, we will use exposure measures as a second pair of independent variables to facilitate comparison between this study and the Patterson-McClure study.

The first exposure measure, exposure to campaign news, was the sum of the responses to the two questions:

"By the time the election was held, how many news stories about Gantt/Helms campaign did you see on TV -- many (coded as 4), some (coded as 3), a few (coded as 2), or none (coded as 1)?" The correlation between the two items is 0.82 ($p < 0.001$).

Another exposure measure, exposure to campaign ads, was the sum of the responses to the two questions:

"By the time the election was held, how many advertisements for the Gantt/Helms campaign did you see on TV -- many (coded as 4), some (coded as 3), a few (coded as 2), or none (coded as 1)?" The correlation between the two items is 0.80 ($p < 0.001$).

Demographics and Voting Behavior. Our major analysis will be the tests of correlation between attention and exposure with the dependent measures of issue awareness and knowledge confidence. To remove as much potential spuriousness as possible from this analysis, we developed several other variables for control and comparison.

Education, age, and income have been found to relate to political communication and knowledge in prior studies and were controlled for in the Zhao-Chaffee study. They were measured in our study by standard self-report questions.

Considering the special circumstances of the Helms-Gantt campaign, particularly such factors as race, we will also control for race, gender, and class, which were not controlled for in the Zhao-Chaffee study. Race was coded as two dummy variables (White: 1 if white, 0 otherwise; black: 1 if black, 0 otherwise). Gender was coded as one dummy variable (1 if male, 0 otherwise). Class was coded on a scale from 1 to 6 (lower, working, lower middle, middle middle, higher middle, and high).

Following the practice of Zhao and Chaffee, we will also control for one dummy variable for voting (1 if voted in the Helms-Gantt election, 0 otherwise) and two dummy variables for voting orientation

(Vote for Helms: 1 if voted for Helms, 0 otherwise; Vote for Gantt: 1 if voted for Gantt, 0 otherwise).

Two of these control variables have a substantial number of missing values: thirty-eight (11.95%) respondents declined to reveal their income; eleven (3.46%) declined to indicate their social classes. Two dummy variables were created accordingly (income dummy: 1 if did not report income, 0 otherwise; class dummy: 1 if did not report class, 0 otherwise). With regard to the original income and class variables, the average scores of non-missing cases were assigned to the missing cases, although any constant could have been assigned without affecting the outcome of the analysis.

Data Analysis

The central empirical tests of this study consist of two parts. The first is the test of correlation between attention to news/ads with the dependent measure of issue awareness. This part is designed to be comparable with the Zhao-Chaffee study. This is also the most important part of theory testing because, as we have argued, these dependent and independent measures are better operationalizations of the concepts under consideration.

The second part is the test of the correlation between exposure to news and ads and the dependent measure of knowledge confidence. While we have argued that these measures may not be the best operationalization, they are more akin to the measures employed by Patterson and McClure, so the results should be more comparable with the Patterson-McClure findings.

Table 5 shows the intercorrelations among all variables. These were then entered into a series of hierarchical regressions, which are summarized in Table 6.

Issue Awareness and Attention to News/Ads:

The first equation (Equation 1) in Table 6 is a base model with issue awareness as the dependent variable and eleven control variables as the independent variables. As shown in Table 6, several of these control variables make significant contributions to the explanation of variance even when all the others are controlled, and together they produce a multiple R-square of .292. It appears, then, that Equation 1 is a rigorous basis against which to assess any further increments to variance in issue awareness. In effect, it accounts for most of the individual differences that might create spurious relationships with our suspected causal variables. Further, since the multiple R-square of this equation (.292) is very close to its counterpart R-square in the Zhao-Chaffee study (.289), Equation 1 also provides a good basis for comparing the results of the two studies.

Equation 1.1 and 1.2 in Table 6 each adds, alternatively, a different attention variable on the basis of Equation 1. Equation 1.1 adds attention to news as an independent variable. It produces a significant 2.14% increment to the variance explained (incremental F=9.25, df=1/300, p<.01). This result indicates a striking similarity between our data and Zhao and Chaffee's data -- they also reported a 2.1% incremental R-square due to attention to TV news. Attention to campaign news on television was clearly associated with higher issue awareness among respondents in Orange County, North Carolina, in 1990, as it was in Dane County, Wisconsin, in 1984. The similar attention measures in the two studies produced almost identical incremental R-squares, an indication that even the magnitudes of the effects of TV news may be about the same in these two elections.

Equation 1.2 in Table 6 substitutes attention to ads in the same position as attention to news was in Equation 1.1. It produces a significant 3.10% increment to the variance explained (incremental F=13.74, df=1/300, p<.01). Clearly, Zhao and Chaffee's finding regarding the ineffectiveness of TV ads on issue awareness was not replicated in our data -- the counterpart increment reported by Zhao & Chaffee was an insignificant 0.8%. In our data the campaign ads appeared not only informative but more informative than campaign news, as indicated in the difference in incremental R-squares (3.10% vs. 2.14%).

The distinct discrepancy between the North Carolina data and the Wisconsin data regarding (un)informativeness of TV ads may not be explained by the differences in methodology, because the two studies employed very similar measures and used very similar models. This argument is also supported by the virtually identical results produced by the two studies regarding the informativeness of TV news. The different results in the two studies may be better explained by the differences between the two elections. In their campaigns, both Helms and Gantt emphasized issues. And the ad campaign itself became news when one of Helms' television ads, which focused on race and affirmative action, became a top news story in the national and statewide media. On the other hand, Reagan's presidential campaign of 1984 has been criticized for its emphasis on image and its de-emphasis on real issues.

Knowledge Confidence and Exposure to News/Ads.

Equation 2 in Table 6 is another base model with knowledge confidence as the dependent variable. The independent variables are the same eleven control variables entered into Equation 1. As shown in Table 6, several of these control variables make significant contributions to the explanation of variance even when all the others are controlled, and together they produce a multiple R-square of .249.

Equation 2.1 and 2.2 in Table 6 each adds, alternatively, a different exposure variable on the basis of Equation 2. Equation 2.1 adds exposure to news as an independent variable. It produces a significant 1.04% increment to the variance explained (incremental F=4.20, df=1/300, p=.041). This result contradicts the Patterson-McClure generalization regarding the ineffectiveness of TV news. While the two studies used similar independent and dependent measures, campaign news in our data appears to have a noticeable impact. The relatively small incremental R-square and marginal p may not imply a small effect of television news -- they can be better explained as the result of the stringent control, small sample size and less sensitive independent measure.

Equation 2.2 in Table 6 substitutes exposure to ads in the same position as exposure to news in Equation 2.1. It produces a 0.86% increment to the variance explained. Its p value barely failed the conventional .05 significance test (incremental F=3.48, df=1/300, p=.063). Given the stringent control, small sample size, and less sensitive independent measure, this marginal p value does not necessarily suggest that campaign ads have no impact. A comparison of the incremental R squares (0.86% for ads vs. 1.04% for news), however, clearly contradicts Patterson and McClure's generalization regarding the superiority of campaign ads over news. While the two studies used comparable independent and dependent measures, television ads in our data appear to be no more, if not less, effective than television news.

Discussion

Let's temporarily ignore the methodological differences among studies and assume that every researcher measured what the study was designed to measure. What do we know from previous studies?

1) Ads were informative, but news was not. (Patterson and McClure's finding regarding Onondaga County 1972.)

2) News was informative, but ads were not. (Zhao and Chaffee's finding regarding Dane County 1984.)

3) Neither news nor ads were clearly informative, and ads were even less likely to be informative than news. (Hofstetter et al's study regarding the United States, 1972.)

We said we wanted to add another piece to this puzzle board.

Apparently we have done just that:

4) Both news and ads were clearly informative, and ads were probably more informative than news. (Our study regarding Orange County, 1990, which was designed as a replication of the Zhao and Chaffee study of the 1984 election.)

We hoped this new piece would lead to a more complete picture of the whole puzzle board. So what does the board look like now? It surely looks colorful: news can be informative, so can ads; ads can be uninformative, so can news; both can be informative at the same time, both can be uninformative at the same time; news can be more informative than ads; ads can also be more informative than news -- it all depends on the time, location, and specifics of the races and campaigns. No generalization can be made across the board.

These observations, however, are based on the assumption that the methodological differences can be ignored. The question: Can they really be ignored? Evidence from this study clearly says method does matter. With awareness and attention measures (which are similar to Zhao and Chaffee's measures), both news and ads are clearly effective, and ads appear to be more effective than news. With confidence and exposure measures (which are more close to Patterson and McClure's measures), both ads and news appear marginally effective, and ads appear less effective than news. Given that the two sets of the testing are done on exactly the same group of people at exactly the same point in time, measurements obviously do make a big difference.

Now the puzzle board looks even more colorful: the effectiveness or ineffectiveness depends not only on the time, location, and specifics of races and campaigns, but also on the research apparatus used to detect the effect.

We have argued that Patterson-McClure's apparatus is not the most valid or most sensitive, and we noted that Hofstetter et al's apparatus has not been fully disclosed. What do the two pieces left -- Zhao and Chaffee's study (1986) and this replication of that study -- tell us about the whole puzzle board? The study of the 1984 election (Zhao & Chaffee, 1986) found that ads were not informative; the replication found ads were informative. The earlier study found that news was more informative than ads; the replication found ads were more informative than news. The only consistent finding from both studies is that news was informative -- so consistent that even the magnitudes of the informativeness as indicated by R-squares are virtually identical.

Questions remain. Why is the puzzle board so colorful? Is news always informative? Is it at possible that news might be uninformative at some time, some place? Our answer is -- why not? If there is nothing intrinsic within ads that makes them informative or uninformative, so should there be nothing intrinsic within news to do that. Ads are controlled by politicians, and news by newspeople. Ads should not be expected to be informative if politicians focus on flag waving. News should not be expected to be informative if the newspeople focus on the political horse race.

Zhao and Chaffee's 1984/1986 study concluded that a presumptive case had been built against Patterson and McClure's generalizations. This study of the Helms/Gantt race has built another presumptive case that Patterson and McClure's generalization regarding the ineffectiveness of the television news may be overly broad, misleading, and erroneous. And when the 1984/1986 study and this replication are considered, these two "presumptive" cases should lead to a "presumptive" generalization that probably no generalization regarding TV news or TV ads can be readily made across time and space.

A question that future studies may address is under what conditions should the television news or ads be informative or uninformative. Content analysis, together with other research tools such as audience research and historical study, should be instrumental in differentiating and describing such conditions, although we have argued that content analysis has not been helpful in comparing the informativeness of news and ads.

Notes

1. The only differences are 1) content of issues: They used issues relevant to the Reagan-Model campaign and this replication used issues relevant to the Helms-Gantt campaign; 2) number of issues: They used six issues while this replication used seven.

APPENDIX

ITEM WORDING AND SCORING

EXPOSURE-ADS based on two questions , one for each candidate:

(Q66 and 68) "By the time the election was held, how many advertisements for the (Helms; Gantt) campaign did you see on TV -- many, some, a few, or none?

EXPOSURE-NEWS based on two questions , one for each candidate:

(Q70 and 72) "How many news stories about the (Helms; Gantt) campaign did you see on TV -- many, some, a few, or none?

ATTENTION-ADS: based on two questions , one for each candidate:

(Q67 and 69) "When you saw (Helm's; Gantt's) advertisements, how much attention did you pay to them -- close attention, some attention, little attention, or no attention at all?

ATTENTION-NEWS: based on two questions , one for each candidate:

(Q71 and 73) "When you saw these television news stories on (Helms; Gantt) campaign, how much attention did you pay to them -- close attention, some attention, little attention, or no attention at all?

INCOME:

(Q111) "Now, I will read a list of household income ranges. Please stop me when I read the one that best represents your total household income:

1. Up to 10,000
2. Between 10,000 and 20,000
3. Between 20,000 and 30,000
4. Between 30,000 and 40,000
5. Between 40,000 and 50,000
6. Between 50,000 and 60,000
7. More than 60,000
8. Don't know/no answer (recoded with the mean of other responses)

INCOMED: A dummy variable created on the basis of INCOME: scored 1 if a response is don't know/no answer, 0 otherwise.

CLASS:

(Q109) "What social class would you say you are in? Would you say you are upper class, middle class, working class, or lower class? "

Q.110 was asked to those whose responses are "middle class":

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(Q110) "Would you say you are closer to being upper middle or lower middle class?

CLASSD: A dummy variable created on the basis of CLASS: scored 1 if a response is don't know/no answer, 0 otherwise.

BLACK, WHITE:

(Q105) "What race do you consider yourself to be?

1. African American 2. Asian 3. Hispanic 4. White 5. Other 6. Don't know/ No Answer

AGE: (Q104) "Which year were you born?

MALE: (Q112) Coded by interviewers

VOTE: (Q74) "Did you vote in the last senate election between Gantt and Helms?"

HELMS, GANTT:

(Q75) "Who did you vote for? Helms, Gantt, or someone else?

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Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Issue Awareness Items

"I'm going to read you a list of proposals discussed during the last senate campaign for the senate. For each , please tell me where you think Harvey Gantt and Jesse Helms stand on these issues."

SCHOOLS: "Education should receive more federal funding."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	13.4%	45.6%	6.3%	9.4%	0.9%	24.5%	[351]
Gantt	0.0	1.1	1.7	52.4	25.1	19.7	[351]

MATERNITY: "Law should not require that an employer continues to pay his or her employee who is on leave to bear baby."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	3.7	17.4	3.4	26.8	6.0	42.7	[351]
Gantt	4.3	27.4	2.3	19.4	3.4	43.0	[351]

DEFENSE: "The federal government should increase spending on defense."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	1.4	5.1	2.0	44.7	16.5	30.2	[351]
Gantt	9.1	48.4	4.6	7.4	0.9	29.6	[351]

POLLUTION: "There should be tougher laws prohibiting industrial pollution."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	8.0	35.6	8.0	17.1	0.6	30.8	[351]
Gantt	0.3	2.6	1.7	53.0	17.1	25.4	[351]

TOBACCO: "The Federal Government should spend money to help the tobacco industry."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	0.9	4.6	2.3	43.6	19.1	29.6	[351]
Gantt	4.0	31.9	9.1	10.3	0.9	43.9	[351]

WELFARE: "The government's welfare spending to help the poor should be decreased."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	2.0	13.1	3.4	42.7	8.5	30.2	[351]
Gantt	10.3	48.4	1.4	10.5	1.1	28.2	[351]

QUOTAS: "It should be guaranteed that a certain proportion of job positions go to minorities."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	16.2	48.1	2.8	5.1	0.3	27.4	[351}
Gantt	0.3	8.3	3.7	53.3	7.7	26.8	[351]

DEATH PENALTY: "A drug-related killing should be punished with death penalty."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	0.9	5.4	2.6	43.6	15.1	32.5	[351]
Gantt	6.3	43.9	5.7	5.4	0.6	38.2	[351]

ABORTION: "Women should have the legal right to stop a pregnancy."

	SD	D	Ne	A	SA	D.K.	N
Helms	29.9	46.4	1.1	3.1	0.6	18.8	[351]
Gantt	0.6	3.1	1.7	53.6	21.7	19.4	[351]

Table 2

Issue Comparison Score Distribution

Issue	Score	Frequencies	Percent
SCHOOLS	-1	72	22.4%
	0	25	7.8
	+1	224	69.8
DEFENSE	-1	100	31.3
	0	21	6.6
	+1	198	62.1
POLLUTION	-1	86	27.0
	0	54	17.0
	+1	178	56.0
WELFARE	-1	113	35.6
	0	21	6.6
	+1	183	57.7
QUOTAS	-1	76	23.9
	0	32	10.1
	+1	210	66.0
DEATH PENALTY	-1	120	37.7
	0	24	7.5
	+1	174	54.7
ABORTION	-1	45	14.2
	0	7	2.2
	+1	265	83.6

+1=Helms is to the right of Gantt;

0=Helms is at the same position as Gantt;

-1=Helms is to the left of Gantt, or "don't know" when responding to any one of the two questions

(See Table 1)

Table 3

Issue Item Pearson Correlation Matrix

	EDUC	DEFN	POLL	WELF	QUOT	DPEN	ABRT
EDUCATION	1.00						
DEFENSE	.43**	1.00					
POLLUTION	.45**	.47**	1.00				
WELFARE	.37**	.39**	.47**	1.00			
QUOTAS	.33**	.42**	.41**	.41**	1.00		
DEATH PEN.	.32**	.47**	.38**	.37**	.39**	1.00	
ABORTION	.42**	.38**	.42**	.34**	.44**	.38**	1.00

Cronbach Alpha: .82

**: p<.01

Table 4

Frequency Distribution of Issue Awareness and Knowledge Confidence Variables

Issue Awareness

Mean	Frequency	Percent
-1.00	21	6.6
-0.71	15	4.7
-0.67	1	0.3
-0.57	5	1.6
-0.43	8	2.5
-0.29	6	1.9
-0.14	16	5.0
0.00	11	3.5
0.14	20	6.3
0.29	9	2.8
0.43	42	13.2
0.57	23	7.2
0.67	1	0.3
0.71	48	15.1
0.86	22	6.9
1.00	70	22.0

Mean: 0.370
Standard Deviation: 0.607
Kurtosis: -0.226
Skewness: -0.921
N=318
Note: Entries are means across the seven issue comparison scores (see Table2).

Knowledge Confidence

Score	Frequency	Percent
0	13	13.1
1	4	1.1
2	9	2.6
3	2	0.6
4	4	1.1
5	2	0.6
6	4	1.1
7	8	2.3
8	4	1.1
9	8	2.3
10	8	2.3
11	8	2.3
12	8	2.3
13	15	4.3
14	20	5.7
15	19	5.4
16	35	10.0
17	48	13.7
18	99	28.2

Mean: 12.593
Standard Deviation: 6.439
Kurtosis: -0.465
Skewness: -1.044
N=318

Table 5

Correlation Matrix for All Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Issue Awareness	1.00									
2. Knowledge Confidence	.90**									
3. Income	.24**	.19**	1.00							
4. IncomeD	-.08	-.46**	.00	1.00						
5. Age	-.23**	-.20**	-.09	-.04	1.00					
6. Education	.33**	.29**	.15**	-.09	.11*	1.00				
7. Male	.13*	.10**	.10	-.08	-.12*	.03	1.00			
8. White	.16**	.44**	.09	-.34**	.09	.29**	.06	1.00		
9. Black	-.16**	-.03	-.16**	-.12*	-.03	-.29**	-.03	-.60**	1.00	
10. Class	.22**	.15**	.52**	.03	-.12*	.10	.10	.25**	-.31**	1.00
11. ClassD	.02	-.54**	-.04	.65**	.03	-.06	-.13*	-.50**	-.07	.00
12. Vote	.23**	.22**	.08	.05	.16**	.15*	-.09	.04	.04	.03
13. Gantt	.27**	.33**	.05	-.15**	.06	.24**	-.06	.11*	.13*	.02
14. Helms	-.02	.10	.03	-.07	.01	-.12*	-.02	.16**	-.10	.03
15. Attention News	.30**	.47**	.14*	-.30**	-.17**	.13*	.10	.25**	.01	.10
16. Attention Ads	.33**	.50**	.08	-.31**	-.19**	.15**	.01	.29**	.00	.07
17. Exposure News	.21**	.40**	.14**	-.36**	-.10	.03	.06	.26**	.00	.09
18. Exposure Ads	.19**	.48**	.08	-.39**	-.20**	-.07	.01	.36**	-.01	.08

*: $p < .05$ **: $p < .01$

Table 5 (Continued)

Correlation Matrix for All Variables

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
11. ClassD	1.00							
12. Vote	-.01	1.00						
13. Gantt	-.20**	.60**	1.00					
14. Helms	-.07	.26**	-.35**	1.00				
15. Attention News	-.41**	.19**	.32**	-.02	1.00			
16. Attention Ads	-.35**	.13*	.31**	-.05	.62**	1.00		
17. Exposure News	-.40**	.19**	.22**	.11*	.66**	.36**	1.00	
18. Exposure Ads	-.43**	.06	.17**	.12**	.45**	.51**	.57**	1.00

*: p<.05 **: p<.01

Table 6

Issue Awareness and Knowledge Confidence by Communication Variables Controlling for Demographics and Voting Behavior

(Hierarchical Regression)

	Eq.1	Eq.1.1	Eq.1.2	Eq.2	Eq.2.1	Eq.2.2
Cross: Dependent Var:	Awareness	Awareness	Awareness	Confidence	Confidence	Confidence
Down: Independent Var:						
Education	.25**	.25**	.24**	.22**	.23**	.24**
Age	-.26**	-.23**	-.22**	-.23**	-.22**	-.21**
Income D	-.10	-.09	-.08	-.12*	-.10	-.10*
Income	.11	.10	.10	.14*	.13*	.13*
Male	.10	.09	.10*	.07	.06	.07
White	.03	.02	.00	.02	.01	.01
Black	-.06	-.06	-.07	-.03	-.03	-.03
Class D	.08	.10	.08	.03	.04	.02
Class	.05	.05	.05	.03	.04	.04
Vote	.12	.09	.10	.08	.06	.08
Vote for Helms	.05	.06	.06	.13	.13	.12
Vote for Gantt	.18*	.16	.15	.20*	.19*	.19*
Attention-News		.16**				
Attention-Ads			.19**			
Exposure-News					.11*	
Exposure-Ads						.10
Total R Square	.292**	.313**	.323**	.249**	.259**	.258**
Incremental R Square due to Communication Variable		.021**	.031**		.010*	.009

* p<.05 ** p<.01.

Note: Entries are standardized beta weights. An empty cell indicates that the independent variable is not entered into the equation.

An Analysis of Competition for Listeners and Advertisers Between New England Areas of Dominant Influence

by

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An Analysis of Competition for Listeners and Advertisers Between New England Areas of Dominant Influence

Abstract One

This study examines commercial radio competition between overlapping Areas of Dominant Influence (ADIs) in New England. It examines effects a strong presence of outside market stations may have on advertising rates and number of stations within ADIs. It is an attempt to better understand what type of exposure radio advertisers are purchasing and how radio's natural ability to be heard beyond geographic boundaries affects spot rates for advertising.

Abstract Two

This study examines radio competition between overlapping Areas of Dominant Influence (ADIs). It is an attempt to better understand what type of exposure radio advertisers are purchasing and how radio's natural ability to be heard beyond geographic boundaries affects spot rates for advertising.

This study tests two hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: As the percentage of ADI market listeners listening to stations from outside the ADI increases, the spot ad price from stations inside the ADI will decrease.

Hypothesis 2: As the percentage of ADI market listeners listening to stations from outside the ADI increases, the number of stations inside the ADI will decrease.

The New England market was selected as it offers geographic and station class diversity within a small and competitive region. Data was collected from the Spring 1991 reporting period of the Arbitron ratings, and Duncan's American Radio Inc., an independent analysis service of Arbitron data. One-hundred thirty six radio stations in the New England market were included in the analysis.

Introduction

Much like the Southern California home of James Rosse's "umbrella model," the New England radio market is dense with media outlets. With more than 18 areas of dominant influence (ADIs) located within six states, the New England region is geographically half the size of Texas, yet almost identical in population size.[1]

The New England market's demographics vary widely however. The metropolitan hub of the region is Boston, Massachusetts, with a population of close to six million. The majority of New England ADIs (15 of 18) are found within 100 miles of Boston, yet their respective ADI characteristics (for example, local economy) greatly vary from Boston.

For example, Worcester Massachusetts, located just 45 miles west of Boston, is well within receiving range of Boston stations with power of 5 kilowatts or greater.[2] Yet Worcester's economy is largely based in industrial work, as Boston companies tend to move production facilities out of the high-priced metropolitan real estate market into less expensive, suburban markets.

In overlapping areas of dominant influence, what "market" is an advertiser who selects radio actually buying? With product differentiation essential, who is the advertiser's message appealing to? "Zoned" editions of newspapers may allow advertisers to select among certain populations based on advertising goals, but radio frequencies are discriminatory only to the extent of their power. In an area of great demographic diversity but close geographic proximity, can radio advertisers really know the extent of their radio spots' appeal? This study begins to examine these questions.

According to Arbitron ratings, great overlap exists in stations holding shares in ADIs other than their own. Boston stations frequently hold large shares of the radio market in ADIs as far north as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and south to Hartford, Connecticut. Worcester radio station WAAF-FM was found to hold market shares in seven ADIs other than its own.

This study begins to examine what cumulative effect on advertising rates the presence of non ADI stations may have upon stations within the ADI. It is an attempt to better understand what type of exposure radio advertisers are purchasing and how radio's natural ability to be heard beyond geographic boundaries affects spot rates for advertising.

Theoretical Roots: Umbrella or Ring?

Arbitron reports break down radio data into three categories of stations: Inside the metropolitan ADI; outside the metropolitan area but within the ADI (this is referred to as the total service area, or TSA); and outside the ADI. It is geographic measure based on the home base of the radio station, rather than its power. It also serves to create a natural "umbrella" for layers of competition, as introduced by Rosse in 1975.[3] However, radio's ability to transmit signals irrespective of geographic boundaries -- expanding its area of "natural advantage" into neighboring ADIs -- may actually allow it to function more in "ring" style, as outlined by Litman.[4]

In his discussion paper "Economic Limits of Press Responsibility," Rosse grouped newspapers into four layers, from large daily metropolitan newspapers to small local weeklies. Rosse found that each newspaper layer competes with upper-layer newspapers for advertising and readers.

Rosse noted that under the umbrella theory, competition existed between layers rather than within them. Because of this intra-layer competition, Rosse asserts that a single newspaper in a metropolitan area in not a monopoly due to competition from lower layers of the newspaper umbrella (as well as other mass media). According to Rosse, newspapers compete between layers for content, circulation, and advertising. As a result, inter-city competition can lead to advertising and audience shifting from layer to layer. Eventually, stated Rosse, suburban newspapers will erode the economic base of metropolitan dailies.

Litman's "Ring Theory of Newspaper Competition" looks at the industry as a "series of concentric rings." [5] It incorporates newspapers within rings from the national level (USA Today) through the metropolitan, suburban, satellite and "shopper" levels.[6] A major difference between the two models is Litman's assertion of "distance decay," meaning that circulation of metropolitan newspapers declines as it expands further from its home base, the metropolitan market. Litman's model allows for overlap between the market rings, but shows a reduction in competition for metropolitan papers within the suburban and satellite rings. Conversely, the Rosse model places newspaper layers in direct competition with one another.

Litman's specialization of "rings" may be more applicable to radio competition than Rosse's umbrella distinctions. In extending his ring theory to magazines, Litman works from the most general, assigning it the highest ring; to the more specialized outlets, which offer more extensive coverage on specific interests.[7] Radio stations are similarly assigned to categories; from the more general interest, top 40 and adult contemporary, to stations that serve specific segments of the listening audience such as classical or country.

Specialization in radio is actually the industry's form of product differentiation. Certain types of people prefer certain types of programming. Historically, radio programming was used to attract listeners who were then "sold" to advertisers. [8]Advertisers hoping to appeal to a certain segment of the population select radio stations based on their ratings by certain demographic groups, often broken down according to sex and age variables. To use an extreme example, an advertiser of Western-styled boots and hats may have more luck advertising on a country station than a classical one.

If the goal is to reach as many people as possible within the geographic region, an advertiser may choose to look to market share as a station indicator. A large department store, for example, may select a radio station for advertising an upcoming sale because recent Arbitron data show it is listened to by a large percentage of the listening population.

Whether one chooses to categorize stations in layers or rings, what arguably differs radio from newspaper markets is the competition existing within layers (or rings). While metropolitan markets have (at the most) three newspapers, they often have more than 10 radio stations, may of them offering similar programming. Recall Steiner's assertion that radio stations tend to adopt programming patterns and preferences "which satisfy as many people as much of the time as possible."[9] With the exception of the specialty stations, the trend toward this "optimum" programming pattern is present in competing stations both inside and outside neighboring ADIs in New England.[10]

Literature review

Like other forms of mass media, radio has evolved through great change in its structure, conduct, performance and, to a lesser extent, diversity. Most of these changes were forced upon the radio industry in the form of technological advances by the television broadcast industry following World War II.

While radio may not directly compete with television, radio stations do compete with one another. According to The Broadcast Yearbook, 1991, there were 10,794 commercial radio stations operating in the United States at the end of 1990 . The introduction of direct broadcast satellite technology has created a potential for more direct and widespread competition among radio stations in the future. Just as USA Today has begun to capture the national news market, direct broadcast satellite technology could extend radio's power from a regional to national presence. How regional stations may position themselves to compete in this new market is an area ripe for study. Hints of how they may do so are found by looking at small-scale, direct competition already at work within and between ADIs.

Chances are good that stations would not compete for a national market share based on product differentiation of news coverage. For most commercial radio stations, the news component comprises just a small portion of the overall broadcast package. The most recent move toward deregulation of the broadcast industry in 1986 removed Federal Communications Commission pressure on radio stations to adhere to the "localism doctrine," the historical justification for radio programming geared toward news rather than entertainment. More recently, the Federal Communications Commission removed obstacles to dual ownership of radio stations within single markets, allowing for more group ownership of radio stations than previously had been permissible.[11]

While little journalism research addresses competition for radio advertising within ADIs, research abounds on applications of the umbrella model to the circulation, content and advertising of newspapers sharing geographic markets. As one of the goals of this research is to explore whether aspects of the umbrella model and ring theory[12] are applicable to radio, various interpretations of the model will be presented below.

The umbrella model has visited New England before. Devey studied 40 years of newspaper circulation figures in eastern Massachusetts counties, dividing layers into distinct layers of umbrella competition.[13] Her hypothesis on the existence of inter-layer competition for circulation between metro daily newspapers and lower level newspapers was not supported. However, data did show a greater percentage increase in circulation in lower level newspapers than in metro papers over the 40 year period.[14]

Tillinghast tested the Rosse umbrella theory in the Los Angeles-Orange County market, finding extensive direct competition between layers but little within them. Tillinghast also found little overlap between a suburban newspaper's city and retail trading zones and the city and retail trading zones of other suburban newspapers.[15]

Far more research exists on the effects of competition on advertising in daily newspaper markets than radio markets. While some studies of dailies indicate that competition tends to lower advertising prices per thousand readers,[16]other studies show monopoly power to increase advertising rates.[17]

In its heyday, the radio industry could have been considered a monopoly. Prior to television, few substitute products existed to provide information to an audience at a moment's notice. High inelasticity was the norm, as demand for the product (information/entertainment) was demand for the industry.[18] High barriers to entry existed in the form of government control of the spectrum, and the industry's speech component was protected under the First Amendment.

The local radio industry can no longer be classified as a "monopoly" under the strict economic definition; while government protection and barriers to entry still exist, certainly more than one or two vendors are available in all New England ADIs. The "gale of creative destruction"[19] brought forth alternate media -- such as television -- to provide close substitute products and competition for metropolitan radio stations. Thanks to increased power, radio stations from nearby ADIs also compete for listeners in markets other than their own.

To compete with television, radio stations have been forced to unite in a spirit of cooperation -- using market ratings and share as indicators of market price. However, these radio stations may not cooperate with outside markets, choosing to overlook the penetration of market share by non ADI stations.

Anti-trust concerns regarding effects of group ownership on the editorial product (which have triggered many umbrella model studies), also are relevant in the radio market. Radio stations are not untouched by the chain ownership trend. While the listener certainly has a choice of more than one "voice," it should not be overlooked that numerous radio voices have singular roots in ownership. Eased FCC ownership restrictions may further entice group rather than independent ownership of radio stations. Critics of newspaper group ownership charge that a greater concentration of ownership places an emphasis on profits rather than serving readers; with the awakening of direct broadcast technology, this argument also could be extended to listeners.

While perhaps not the case in radio, umbrella competition for newspaper advertising is limited by geography and distance, as opposed to wider ranged competition for circulation. In a 1984 study, Lacy explained that although local readers (those in satellite or suburban markets) may want to read metropolitan news, they want to know what is being advertised for sale closer to home.[20] If suppliers of advertising are concerned primarily with local market appeal, they may select or reject metropolitan, satellite, or suburban newspapers based only on considerations for the immediate market served.

Lacy disagrees with Rosse's assertion that, by expanding their markets through umbrella competition, metropolitan dailies would jeopardize circulation and advertising rates of layer three and four newspapers. Lacy seems to believe that suburban daily and weekly newspapers have found ample distinction in the marketplace to fight back.

A good example of a metropolitan daily's efforts to overrun lower-layered newspapers was seen in the recent expansion of the Cleveland Plain Dealer into rural Ohio markets historically dominated by suburban daily and weekly newspapers.[21] The move was termed to have "prompted healthy, heavily financed competition among Northeast Ohio's dailies in an era otherwise marked by lagging sales, reduced advertising revenues and cutbacks throughout the publishing industry."[22] According to data on suburban newspapers in the area, the entry of the metropolitan giant has not resulted in losses of advertisers or subscribers.[23]

Tillinghast also noted the effects of inter-layer competition. In replicating Rosse's umbrella model study in a series of Southern California newspaper markets, she quoted Tom Johnson, publisher of the Los Angeles Times (representing the metropolitan layer in this study) discussing the competitive threat posed by newspapers in lower layers.

> They are improving. They are becoming legitimate news products, and they can be improved even further. We know that they can be improved further....The Los Angeles Times is up against increasingly more professional competition out of newspapers in the San Fernando Valley - the Valley News (now the Daily News), the Register in Orange County, Knight Ridder in Long Beach.[24]

Bernstein, Lacy, Cassara and Lau extended the umbrella model to geographic coverage by local television news, reporting that large market stations devoted less of their coverage to local news than did small-market stations. The authors theorized that large-market stations may differentiate coverage by allocating more resources to non-local stories.[25] Their study is significant to the research question posed here, as it is comparable to how a radio station with a strong presence in an ADI other than its own may prioritize its audience. As technological advances continue to defy geographic barriers to what is considered local, radio stations may need to reconsider definitions of their target markets, taking competition from outside markets into consideration.

Hypotheses

This research tries to understand whether newspaper models of competition are applicable to the radio market. The purpose is to look at the natural, competitive layers that exist within radio ADIs to see if they compete in similar fashion to newspaper layers as defined by Rosse, or rings as presented by Litman. It could be argued that this study attempts to test the rigor of the umbrella and ring models as applied to markets other than newspapers. It also asks whether competition is decreased (thereby increasing ad rates) in radio markets where the audience in the information/entertainment market is not attracted to the advertising messages. Finally, it looks at what effects a decreased listening audience within an ADI may have on the number of radio stations within that ADI.

To better understand the effect competition by stations located outside ADIs has on spot advertising rates of metropolitan radio stations within ADIs, this research poses the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: As the percentage of ADI market listeners listening to stations from outside the ADI increases, the spot ad price from stations inside the ADI will decrease.

Null hypothesis 1: The umbrella model and its layered approach are not applicable to the radio market. Therefore, competition from "layers" other than the metro one have no effect on advertising prices charged by stations within the metropolitan market.

Hypothesis 2: As the percentage of ADI market listeners listening to stations from outside the ADI increases, the number of stations inside the ADI will decrease.

Null hypothesis 2: The presence of stations outside the ADI does not effect the number of stations within the ADI, perhaps because these stations are not competing for the same listeners.

Method

It is the purpose of this study to examine radio competition within the confines of overlapping markets (as defined by Arbitron population rankings). The New England market was selected for study as it offers both geographic and station class diversity within a relatively small, overlapping, and competitive region. While this limits the generalizability of this study, it offers a good starting point to test the applicability of newspaper models to radio competition.

Data was collected from the Spring 1991 reporting period of the Arbitron ratings (March 28 though June 19), and Duncan's American Radio Inc.,[26] an independent analysis service of Arbitron data. One-hundred thirty six commercial radio stations in the New England market were included in the analysis. These stations comprise 18 areas of dominant influence (ADI)s throughout the six New England states. In descending order, the presence of ADIs by state was as follows: Connecticut (6); Massachusetts (5); Maine (3); New Hampshire (2); Vermont (1); Rhode Island (1). All ADIs located in New England were included.

Stations were not randomly selected; all commercial stations in the New England market with Arbitron-reported ratings, share, and spot rate information were included.[27] Non profit stations such as college campus stations and public broadcasting stations were excluded. Stations with ratings and share information but no available advertising rate data also were excluded. Because information on share, rating and advertising cost was not available for the smallest stations, not all ADIs totaled 100 percent share. Only data for the daytime period of 6 a.m. to midnight were included.

The independent variables were: location of ADI; frequency (AM or FM); power (ranging from 1 to 99 kilowatts); station's share of metro market; rating; average number of listeners in a market, and ADI population. In addition, two collective independent variables were used: percentage of ADI-member station's market share held in home metro market(metshare); and percentage of ADI-market share held by non-member stations of the ADI (outshare). These were devised to better examine the effects of competitive layers within the ADI on metropolitan market radio advertising costs. The variables are a cumulative percentage of market share share held by all stations with ratings in the ADI.

For example, in the Portsmouth, New Hampshire market, 39.2 percent of the total market share is comprised by stations home to that market (metshare), and 48.3 percent of market share is accounted for by stations based in other ADIs (outshare), such as Boston or Worcester, Massachusetts. Some markets also incorporate a middle region referred to by Arbitron as "total service area" or TSA (tsashare). However, this middle region was dropped as a variable because less than 10 percent of New England ADIs reported data for such a middle region, and in those case the stations accounted for less than five percent of total ADI market share.

The dependent variable in the first hypothesis was the average spot price in each ADI metro market. Rates were an estimate of each station's average unit rate, based on the Arbitron Spring 1991 reporting period. The unit rate estimate is derived by taking the station's gross billings and working backwards with a calculation based on spots per hour and percentage of inventory sold.

The dependent variable in the second hypothesis was the number of stations home to each ADI. This data was collected by counting stations as recorded in Arbitron ratings, and then cross checking the numbers with station information prepared by Broadcasting Yearbook 1991 and Duncan's American Radio.

Cume metro ratings were used for this study, as not all ADIs had available information on average quarter-hour ratings. The cume rating refers to the percentage of different persons age 12 and over in the market who listened to a station for a minimum of five minutes in a quarter-hour within a reported daypart.[28]

Share data was collected from Arbitron information on the average quarter-hour share for each station within an ADI. Share information is expressed as a percentage of total market listeners who listen to a particular station within a specific quarter hour. If a ADI has a estimated population of 100,000 and radio station WCBM has 10,000 listeners, this earns the station a 10 percent share of the market.

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine the impact of competition on advertising rates, and then number of stations within ADIs, controlling for other variables.

Data were examined for violation of regression analysis assumptions. As the spot price in metro market was positively skewed, the natural log of this variables was used in the regression analysis. When the results of regression analysis with the logged measure was compared to the results using original data, the explanatory power of the equations using the natural log was greater. The relative contribution of the statistically significant independent variables was not changed by the use of the natural log.

Because of high multicollinearity, a choice had to be made between the highly correlated variables of share and ratings, and metshare and outshare. Ratings was selected as it was perceived to be the better indicator of how advertisers might differentiate their message. Metshare was eliminated in favor of outshare as the primary goal of the study was to examine the effects of outshare on the metropolitan market.

After much agonizing, Boston was eliminated from the study after reviewing the highly skewed distribution even after adjusting for three standard deviations (skewness= 1.618).[29] It was decided that Boston is atypical in the New England marketplace, as 93.1 percent of its ADI market share was generated by stations home to the metropolitan area (with 1 percent generated in the TSA and 1.1 percent accounted for by stations outside the ADI).

While it could be argued that eliminating Boston does not allow the study to accurately reflect the New England market, beta weights for population (.87), rating (.55) and outshare (.11) were artificially high when Boston was included. Further, Boston remains represented as a force competing for ratings in markets other than its own - only the effects on Boston-based radio stations by stations outside the Boston market were excluded.

Following the above mentioned adjustments, the inspection of scatterplots for each of the predictor variables produced no evidence of nonlinearity and no sign of extreme outliers. An examination of residuals showed that no variable was beyond three standard deviations from the mean.

Insert Table 1 about here

Results

After the elimination of the Boston ADI, the number of cases studied was 116. On average, New England radio stations accounted for market share in ADIs other than their own in 24 percent of the cases (outshare). Within markets, the average number of persons older than 12 years listening to radio during the study period of 6 a.m. to midnight was 17.3 percent. The ADI average population was 409,603.

The results of the regression analysis for hypothesis one are reported in Table 2. About 59 percent of the variance in spot advertising rates was associated with the four variables used in the regression equation. The multiple R was .775 and the adjusted R Square was .587. F was significant at the .05 level. [The significance of T is also noted, however it is not as applicable as F due to the fact that this study covers a population rather than a sample.]

Insert Table 2 about here

The hypothesis that an increase in the percentage of ADI share attributable to stations from outside of the ADI would serve to decrease advertising rates within the ADI was not supported. In fact, the reverse relationship appeared to be the case. The greater the percentage of stations outside a given market (outshare), the higher the average spot prices of stations home to the ADI (beta=.19).

By far the most powerful predictors of advertising spot rates were station rating (beta=.58) and ADI population (beta=.57). Stations with the greatest ratings and located in ADIs with the largest populations appear to have the greatest impact on spot price. Frequency, power and the average number of listeners in a given market failed to contribute any statistical significance to metro spot price.

Looking to the squared part correlations to explain unique variance, the greatest indicator was rating, accounting for about 32 percent of the variance in spot price. Population and outshare accounted for 25 percent and 18 percent of the unique variance respectively.

To test hypothesis two, stations were examined as members of ADIs, with the dependent variable "number of stations within ADI." As this approach reduced the sample size from 116 to a purposeful sample of 18 (the number of New England ADIs), this portion of the research only can be considered exploratory.

However, it is interesting to note that Hypothesis Two was supported, suggesting there may be an impact on the number of stations inside the ADI based on the strength of stations outside the ADI. A strong negative correlation was found between outshare and number of stations (-.62), and a strong positive correlation was found between population and number of stations (.83).

Results of the regression analysis show that about 77 percent of the variance in number of stations was associated with the independent variables population and outshare. The multiple R was .89 and the adjusted R Square was .77. Beta weights indicate that as the strength of outshare decreased (-.35) the number of stations within the ADI increased. Population also was shown to be a powerful predictor of number of stations within an ADI (Beta =.70).

In explaining unique variance, it was apparent that some overlap exists between the variables. Part correlations were population (.41), outshare (-.33), while partial correlations were population (.82) and outshare (.59).

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

The results of this study seem to indicate that given the nature of the radio market -- with its ability to compete beyond geographic boundaries unlike many newspaper markets -- the umbrella model is not a useful tool to analyze competition between stations. While stations may compete between layers, there is also sizable competition within the layers as defined by this study.

This is not to say that the percentage of market penetration held by stations other than those within an ADI have no effect on spot rates. A slight effect of 18 percent of spot rate was attributable to the presence of outside stations in the market. However, this finding was contrary to the hypothesis under study, which posed that competition would increase with the greater presence of outside stations, thereby causing spot rates to fall.

Based on Hypothesis Two, it appears that the strong presence of outside stations in ADI market shares actually decrease the number of local stations within the metro ADI. However, these are preliminary findings in need of additional research.

Arguably, this could effect both short and long term advertising rates (recalling that advertisers prefer to stay within their home target markets). Radio stations in metro markets with greater competition from outside markets initially may charge higher advertising spot rates than those in markets with less competition from outside markets. Perhaps this is due to the ability of smaller stations to sell to a specific local audience, keeping rates high. Over the long term however, strong outshare presence may keep new stations from entering the market. Reduced competition may then result in artificially high radio advertising rates.

It is difficult from this limited study to determine whether radio competition is best defined by layers, as in Rosse's umbrella; or in a series of rings as detailed by Litman. Neither model appears to completely explain ADI radio competition, so perhaps there is something to be garnered from both models. The market share held by stations in layers other than the metropolitan one did not appear to have a significant effect on ADI spot rates. Had this been a newspaper study, it is likely (given the assumptions of the Rosse model) that competition between the layers would yield some impact on advertising rates. Under the Litman ring model, metropolitan stations would yield their greatest influence over those markets closest to home, but also would be factors to a lesser degree in smaller markets within receiving range of their signals. However, these rings would need to have more overlap than the model presented by Litman in view of radio's capability to transmit its product beyond geographic borders.

Ultimately, population and rating may remain better indicators of spot price than outside competition, although outside competition does appear to effect the number of stations within ADIs. Future studies of radio competition should refine the focus to include other possible independent variables such as market demographics, station format, proximity of stations to one another, and average household income. An additional dependent variable of spot cost per thousand also would prove useful.

With the gale of creative destruction posed to strike radio once again - this time in the form of direct broadcasting satellite technology - it is important that the industry reexamine its competitive position in a broader marketplace. With foresight, perhaps the radio industry could use the gale to its advantage rather than be blown away by its force.

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[1] The New York Public Library Desk Reference, (New York: Webster's New World) 1990, p.677.

[2] Arbitron ratings for Worcester, Mass., Spring 1991, attribute 42 percent of total market share to Boston radio stations. Worcester stations comprise 44 percent, with the remaining shares held by Hartford, Conn. stations.

[3] James N. Rosse, "Economic Limits of Press Responsibility." Discussion paper. Stanford University Studies in Industry Economics, No. 56, 1975.

[4] Barry R. Litman, "The Print Industry" in Barry R. Litman, Economics of the Mass Media, (Erlbaum, 1990) Chapter 3, pp. 3-7.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Stephen Lacy, "Competing in the Suburbs: A Research Review of Intercity Newspaper Competition," Newspaper Research Journal, 9:69-76 (Winter 1988). Lacy suggested that two additional layers be included in the umbrella model: one layer of national dailies such as USA Today and The Wall Street Journal, and a lower layer incorporating non-daily suburban newspapers that are group owned.

[7] Litman, 1990, op. cit.

[8] Benjamin Compaine, ed., Who Owns the Media? (Knowledge Industries, 1982) p. 301.

[9] Peter O. Steiner, "Program Patterns and Preferences, and the Workability of Competition in Radio Broadcasting." Quarterly Journal of Economics Vol 66:196-197 (May 1952).

[10] This study includes 136 radio stations contained within 18 ADI markets in New England. About 50 percent of these stations are classified by Arbitron as "top 40" or "adult contemporary," the broadest classifications used.

[11] Randy Sukow, "NAB Holding to Moderate Posture on Ownership Limits," Broadcasting, (New York: Cahners Publishing), Vol. 122, No. 27, p. 6.

[12] Interpretations of the "Ring Theory" other than the original as presented by Litman were not found during this review.

[13] Susan M. Devey, "Umbrella Competition for Newspaper Circulation in the Boston Metro Area." Journal of Media Economics 2:34 (Spring 1989).

[14] Ibid.

[15] Diana Tillinghast, "Limits of Competition" in Robert Picard et al, eds., Press Concentration and Monopoly (Norwood, NJ: Ablex) 1988, p. 87.

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[16] Robert G. Picard, "Pricing in Competing and Monopoly Newspapers, 1972-1982," LSU School of Journalism Research Bulletin,(1986).

[17] Gerald L. Grotta, "Consolidation of Newspapers: What Happens to the Consumer?" Journalism Quarterly, 48:245-250 (Summer 1971).

[18] Barry R. Litman, "Microeconomic Foundations," in Economics of the Mass Media, (Erlbaum: 1991) p. 11.

[19] Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, 3rd Edition (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 81-82.

[20] Stephen Lacy, "Competition Among Metropolitan Daily, Small Daily and Weekly Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly 61:640-644, 742 (Autumn 1984).

[21] Joanne Draus Klein, "World War II," in Corporate Cleveland, Aug, 1991, pp. 16-21,58-60.

[22] Ibid., p. 18.

[23] Ibid., pp.19-20. Please note, this information was part of an article on this topic and was not independently verified by this researcher.

[24] Tillinghast, 1988, op. cit.

[25] James Bernstein, Stephen Lacy, Catherine Cassara, and Tuen-yu Lau, "Geographic Coverage by Local Television News." Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 67: 670 (Winter 1990).

[26] James H. Duncan, American Radio: Spring 1991 Report, Vol. 16, Num. 1 & 2 (August 1991).

[27] Arbitron does not record information for public or other non commercial stations, such as student-run campus stations.

[28] "Glossary of Selected Arbitron Terms," Arbitron Reports, p. i., all volumes.

[29] A skewness measure greater than 1.00 indicates a highly skewed distribution. See M.G. Bulmer, Principles of Statistics, (Cambridge, Mass,: The MIT Press, 1967).

Table 1

Pearson Correlation Matrices: Market Indicators for radio competition within ADIs.

Hypothesis 1

Variable:	ADPRICM	POWER	SHARE	RATING	OUTSHARE	FREQ.	PRICE	POP.	AVRATE
ADPRICM	1.0000	.1175	.3661	.4221	.0853	.1254	.9094	.3844	.1903
POWER	.1175	1.000	.3814	.2859	-.2299	.4565	.1684	-.0679	-.1370
SHARE	.3661	.3814	1.0000	.8029	-.0960	.3171	.4215	-.1236	-.1128
RATING	.4221	.2859	.8029	1.0000	-.1061	.4259	.4752	-.1388	-.0656
OUTSHARE	.0853	-.2299	.0960	.1061	1.0000	-.2439	.1085	-.1182	.6288
FREQ.	.1254	.4565	.3171	.4259	-.2439	1.0000	.2683	.0137	-.0469
PRICE	.9094	.1684	.4215	.4752	.1085	.2683	1.0000	.4910	.3156
POP.	.3844	-.0679	-.1236	-.1388	-.1182	.0137	.4910	1.0000	.2757
AVRATE	.1903	-.1370	-.1128	-.0656	.6288	-.0469	.3156	.2757	1.0000

Hypothesis 2

Variable:	OUTSHARE	POP.	STATIONS
OUTSHARE	1.0000	-.3778	-6156
POP.	-.3778	1.0000	.8326
STATIONS	-.6156	.8326	1.0000

Table 2

Multiple regression of average rate of listeners, rating, ADI population, and share of market held by non-ADI stations on spot advertising price.

Dep. Variable=Price

Indep. Variable:	BETA	PART. COR.	PARTIAL	T	Sig T
Average rate of listeners (AVRATE)	.07639	.05278	.08333	.881	.3802
RATING	.57988	.56794	.66888	9.480	.0000
ADI Population	.57288	.49943	.62050	8.336	.0000
Share of market held by non-ADI stations (OUTSHARE)	.18979	.13445	.20833	2.244	.0268

Multiple R = .7756

Adjusted R Square = .5872

N = 116

F = 41.9

Sig F = .0000

Table 3

Multiple regression of ADI population and share of market held by non-ADI stations on number of stations within ADI.

Dep. Variable = No. of Stations

Indep. Variable:	BETA	PART. COR.	PARTIAL	T	Sig T
ADI Population	.699	.41	.82	5.598	.0001
Share of market held by non-ADI stations (OUTSHARE)	-.351	-.33	.59	-2.8	.0132

Multiple R = .893
Adjusted R Square = .772
N = 18
F = 29.8
Sig F = .0000

American and Japanese Youth as Consumers
Similarities and Differences

Abstract

This comparative study of American and Japanese youth as consumers focused on such variables as group versus individualistic orientation, importance of advertising, purchasing involvement, media use, importance of brand names, and functions of brands. It found that country accounted for differences in importance of advertising, purchasing involvement, media use and importance of brand, and gender accounted for differences in group versus individual orientation.

Japanese youth placed greater weight on advertising, were more involved in their purchasing, used much less media and did not consider brand names as important in their purchasing as did American youth. The youth of the two countries did not differ in their group versus individual orientation; recent literature has noted the move towards individualism among Japanese youth. It was gender which accounted for differences in this variable; females were more group oriented than males.

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American and Japanese Youth as Consumers
Similarities and Differences

Introduction

As Mullen and Johnson (1990) report, models of consumer behavior have moved from the undifferentiated (based on marketing "folk wisdom") through the unilineal (Lavidge and Steiner, 1961), to the current cybernetic ones (Howard and Sheth, 1969). At each stage of their development, these models have further differentiated existing variables or added new variables. In an effort to parsimoniously integrate these models, Mullen and Johnson (1990) formulated their General Model of consumer behavior. While this model leaves out some of the complexity of consumer behavior, it is a useful starting point for this paper.

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether consumers differ by country and gender on certain consumer behavior variables. The particular countries under consideration here are the United States and Japan.

Mullen and Johnson's (1990) General Model of consumer behavior includes the internal processes taking place within a consumer (perception, emotion, and so on), triggered by a stimulus and resulting in behavior in the social context. This entire process is enveloped by the cultural context, a context that has current importance because of the increased movement of goods across national boundaries. The cultural context is the point of interest where this study begins. It is also an area of research which has suffered from a paucity of attention in the comparative context until recent years (Sheth, 1979).

The cultural context is the "totality of customs, arts, sciences...that distinguishes one society from another" (Mullen and Johnson, 1990, p. 138). The social context refers to "the totality of social stimulation that is influencing the individual" (Mullen and Johnson, 1990, p. 123). This totality may include such influences as family, friends, sales personnel, and advertising. The social and cultural contexts provide the sociological influences on consumer behavior. Psychological forces such as individual personality are also at work.

The psychological and sociological factors are structural variables; it is their influence on responses such as internal process variables and behavior which is of interest to consumer behavior researchers (Sirgy, 1985). The structural variables (psychological and sociological factors) as well as the internal processes may also be studied for differences across cultures.

Cross-cultural Studies

Cross-cultural marketing and advertising studies are no longer as sparse as they were a few years ago. The marketing studies focus on comparing marketing practices and staff perceptions about the marketing function (Lazer, Murata, and Kosak, 1985; Kwan, Ho, and Cragin, 1983). The advertising studies largely concentrate on content comparisons (Rice and Lu, 1988; Tansey, Hyman, and Zinkhan, 1990) though studies on the practice of and perceptions about international advertising are also available (James and Hill, 1991; Farley, 1986).

Most studies on Japanese advertising content have pointed out that differences in strategies, particularly as compared with Western advertising, are present. These strategies and the need for firms entering the Japanese market to adopt these strategies was underscored in a recent article (Benedetto, Tamate and Chandran, 1992). Japanese advertising uses indirect strategies, shows little relationship between content and product, has a minimalist approach to verbal content, and provides minimum explanation of the brand's virtues.

These characteristics derive from Japanese culture. The Japanese culture is a high context one where information resides more in the context and the communicator than in the message (Midooka, 1990). The Japanese value indirect expression; their spoken language is ambiguous, their written language complicated, and their unspoken communication very expressive (Shane, 1988). Theirs is also a very hierarchical society; in this vertical structure, tradition and authority are respected not only at the workplace but also at home. This interconnectedness with the past and with family lends them a group orientation wherein conformity, loyalty, consensus, and preservation of relationships, resulting in harmony, are regarded highly. In fact, in Japanese society, it is an interpersonal relationship not an individual that is the smallest unit (Midooka, 1990); individual modesty therefore plays a central role in relationships.

At the other extreme is Western, particularly American, culture. Directness, horizontal structures, and individuality are the values in place in the United States with the result that competition, informality, and primary control are prized (Weisz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn, 1984; Okabe, 1983; and Frith, 1990).

A study of advertising content as a reflection of culture, however, important as it is, does not provide a direct glimpse of the consumer. Survey research might be more useful here. Large amounts of proprietorial research in American consumer behavior does exist; this is not necessarily true for Japan (Kobayashi and Draper, 1990). Studies in consumer needs and attitudes particularly are seen to be of prime importance in terms of both current and future needs. In the academic literature, cross-national surveys of consumer behavior are available though not plentiful despite the fact that the need for them has been recognized for some time (Plummer, 1977); logistical difficulty and substantial resource needs may be one reason for this sparsity.

In 1975, Thorelli et al. studied German and American "information seekers" and found that the two differed in their perception of respective media use and use of commercial information, in their consumer experience, in their rating of buying criteria such as brand reputation, styling, and economy of operation, and in their overall attitude toward advertising. Green and Langeard's (1975) study of French and U.S. consumers found differences in several variables. The American sample was more willing to try new products, relied more on friends and relatives and on television and print advertising for information on certain products, watched more television, and subscribed to more magazines.

Douglas (1976) found that differences between French and U.S wives were more significant than differences between working and non-working wives across the two cultures for all four variables of interest: grocery purchase behavior, women's clothing purchases, attitudes to various female roles, and family background characteristics, these differences differing by product class. Anderson and Engledow's (1977) comparison of U.S. and German information seekers found evidence of similarity in cognitive structure but differences at the overall level. For example, Americans perceived a more important role for brand and brand reputation in their purchasing behavior. They were also more discriminating in their use of and attitude toward advertising.

Aaker et al. (1982) compared two lifestyle studies and found differences between Japanese and American women with the former being a more homogenous group and more traditionally oriented. Boote's (1982/83) study of values differences among German, U.K., and French consumers found differences at the level of each value statement, but similarities at the level of value structures. The values measured were of the instrumental kind, instrumental in the formation of attitudes towards specific products, brands, etc.

Green et al.'s (1983) study of family purchasing roles across the United States, France, Holland, Venezuela, and Gabon found that in Gabon there was a heavy emphasis on autonomous decision making by the husband and in the United States, France and Holland, there was more power sharing between husband and wife, with Venezuela falling somewhere in between.

In the tradition of such comparative studies, this study looks at American and Japanese youth as consumers. Sheth (1979) pointed out that the inductive approach dominates a discipline in its infancy and growth stages. In view of the newness of cross-cultural research in consumer behavior, this study is largely descriptive in nature.

To set the stage, the study begins with a comparison of American and Japanese students on demographic variables. It then addresses the following specific question:

> Do young consumers differ in their consumer behavior (as measured by certain cultural, social context, and internal process variables) by country and gender? That is, do American and Japanese female and male youth differ in their group oriented versus individualistic brand choice behavior (culture), in the importance they ascribe to advertising in brand choice (social context), in purchasing involvement (internal process), in media use (social context), in the importance of brand name in their shopping, and in their perception of the functions that brands perform (internal processes)?

Method

The data collection method was survey, the design was one-shot. The data collection technique however differed by country; the American data were collected by a telephone survey, the Japanese by self-administered questionnaires (could be taken home) distributed through contacts. The choice of technique was dictated by cultural (Katori, 1990; Kobayashi and Draper, 1990)) and methodological factors. The telephone survey is an acceptable practice in the United States; it also has the methodological advantage of speed of completion and high response rate. Its disadvantage is the constraint on length. In Japan, data collection by telephone is uncommon and likely to get a poor response rate and socially desirable answers/response set. The questionnaire distribution technique used in Japan had the cultural advantage of acceptability because of personal contact with the methodological advantage of a good response rate.

Given cultural and resource constraints, data collection sites were also not identical. The American data were collected at a midwestern, state university. The Japanese data were collected from students in approximately 15 universities around the east and west coast of the main island of Japan.

The youth market was of interest to this paper. In the United States, 18 to 24 year olds represent about 15% of adults. Many of them are employed; this augments household income and also leaves the youth themselves with a discretionary income. The products they particularly tend to spend their money on are food (for example, snacks, canned soup, bread and butter), alcohol, recreation, and shoes. This segment is also a "generation on wheels," with 40% of them having been involved in the decision to purchase a car (Mediamark Research Inc., 1990).

The importance of the youth market in Japan has also been noted (Ozaki, 1978). This market has a considerable say in purchasing decisions of their parents, but they themselves are avid consumers with particular interest in music, sports, fashion, and travel.

Students were used as the access population to study the youth. There are advantages to this choice.

First, the methodological one. In cross-cultural research, the superiority of purposive samples over random samples for establishing equivalence is generally accepted (Dant and Barnes, 1988). Student samples across nations provide some measure of equivalence. At the same time, no attempt to generalize findings to other populations will be made. Park and Lessig (1977) warn against such generalization. They found differences among students and housewives in reference group influence with students being more susceptible to the same.

Second, the substantive advantage. The entire debate on standardized versus localized international advertising has hinged on whether similar consumers exist across national boundaries. By selecting a comparable group (students) across countries, and thereby controlling for one source of variation, this study is more likely to isolate differences by culture if in fact they exist.

At the next step of sample selection, somewhat different procedures were used for the two countries. The sample for the American data was randomly drawn from the population of students at the chosen site. The Japanese sample was a convenience sample from the chosen sites.

The Japanese questionnaire (an English version) was developed first. It went through several iterations both for ensuring completeness in the domain of variables of interest and for cultural sensitivity about the domain. Once the final English version was ready, it was informally pretested with Japanese nationals in the United States, particularly for adequacy of translation. It was then taken to Japan where this process was repeated, this time not just to test adequacy of translation, but also for timing. While it is acknowledged that back translation would have ensured linguistic equivalence, time and resource constraints did not permit this.

The English version was then edited for suitability for telephonic administration in the United States. It went through two pretests subsequently for timing and, in the case of certain variables, adequacy of measurement (reliability tests).

The questionnaires included the demographic variables gender, class year, residence, employment, and age. Other variables were group/individualistic orientation in brand choice, importance of advertising in brand choice, purchasing involvement, media use, importance of brand name in shopping, and functions of brands.

Why were this particular set of variables selected? First, to ensure the inclusion of culture, social context, and internal process variables. Second, to include a range of variables from those most likely to have indigenous values (differences by country) such as group versus individualistic orientation to those more likely to have universal values (functions that brands perform).

The demographic variables were measured by direct questions. A composite media use variable was formed by summing and averaging hours per day across four media, television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.

The remaining variables were all operationalized using a scale of several statements rather than a single measure. A methodological issue arises here, the use of emic and etic approaches. The emic approach seeks to understand each culture in its own terms, while the etic tries to incorporate features of different cultures into a generalized theory. The critique of the etic approach is that in using standardized measures of theoretical constructs across cultures the emic aspects of each culture are lost. That is, the same empirical scale may not measure the theoretical construct of interest (assuming the construct is common to the cultures) across cultures; indigenization of the scale may be necessary. Here, the etic consideration prevailed. (Earlier, the decision to use different data collection techniques was dictated by emic considerations despite the fact that it had some etic costs.)

The need to develop a scale which measures the same construct across cultures is an issue of equivalence. Equivalence is related to validity and reliability. If the scale has unequal reliability across cultures, then it may not be measuring the same theoretical construct and any differences found between countries could be the result of that artifact rather than of culture. Hence reliabilities for all scales for both countries are reported within the following discussion on measurement of each variable.

Studies have shown that people's evaluations are influenced by others; the amount of this influence may vary by culture. For the Japanese, the influence of groups, in general, may be larger than for Americans who tend to be more individualistic. This orientation was measured by five statements (example: Belonging with a group is important to me in my brand choice decisions) each followed by a five-point Likert scale. Respective reliabilities were .55 for the American and .53 for the Japanese sample.

Also, certain influences within the social context may be more important in one culture than in another. Kindel (1986) suggests that the Chinese are more likely to be influenced by opinion leaders and reference groups in purchasing than are Americans. The unit within the social context that was of particular interest to this study was advertising.

Who these "influencing" others are may also differ by the product being evaluated. For limited problem solving situations, these others are more likely to be similar to the evaluator, while for extended problem solving situations these others are likely to differ from the evaluators (Mullen and Johnson, 1990). That is, the importance of informational, utilitarian, and value expressive reference groups differs by product (Lessig and Park, 1978).

To take this factor into account in measuring the importance of advertising in brand choice, product classes differing by cost, frequency of purchase, and function were used. A five-point Likert scale followed each product class with the question asking respondents to rate the influence of advertising on brand choice for each. The reliabilities were .66 for the American sample and .69 for the Japanese sample.

Involvement can pertain to the product, situation, or consumer (Kassarjian, 1981). The latter, of interest to this study, refers to how involved consumers are in purchasing. Slama and Tashchian (1985) found that the more involved consumers are women who have children, a moderate income, and relatively high educations. While demographic, psychological, and sociological variables may explain differences in purchasing involvement, Rook (1987) has also pointed out the need to factor in culture. The oft mentioned high involvement nature of purchasing in general for the Chinese, in view of the recency of their surplus income and product availability, is an example of differences in this variable by culture. Similarly, the higher savings rate of the Japanese as compared with the Americans suggests that delayed gratification and contemplative modes of consumer choice are more likely their characteristics.

Purchasing involvement was measured by five items each followed by a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scales' reliabilities were .70 for the United States and .69 for the Japanese sample.

Importance of brand name also may differ by country; in fact, the very concept of brand as of brand loyalty may not be present in some countries. As both Japan and the United States are highly developed economically, the importance consumers palce on brand names may not differ substantially. The variable was measured by eight statements each followed by a five-point Likert scale. The reliabilities were .65 for the American and .67 for the Japanese sample.

Finally, the functions that brands perform were measured by four statements. Wells (1991) found that functions of brands tended to be universal across European cultures. The reliabilities in our study were .60 for the American and .62 for the Japanese sample.

Findings

Response Rate

Altogether 400 blank questionnaires were distributed through contacts at the 15 aformentioned Japanese universities. Altogether, 262 were mailed back to us either individually or through contacts, a 65% response rate. The goal for the American sample was 400 completions. The final N size was 462. As this paper analyzes the youth market, respondents less than 25 years old were selected for study specifying a total sample of 650.

Demographic Characteristics

The proportions of male to female differed considerably in the two samples (Table 1). Males formed about two-thirds of the American sample, but only about a third of the Japanese sample (chi-square = 38.17; p.=.00). The two samples were also somewhat unequal in their distribution across class year (chi-square = 17.51; p.=.00). Graduate students formed 11% of the Japanese sample but only 4% of the American sample, while freshman formed 26% of the American sample but 20% of the Japanese sample. Mean age for the American sample was 20.45; for the Japanese sample, it was 20.87.

American and Japanese students had differing living arrangements (chi-square = 315.77; p.=.00). While only four percent of the American students lived with their parents, 63 percent of Japanese students did so. The opposite was the case for dorm residence with 49 percent of American students living in dorms as compared with four percent of Japanese students.

While fewer Japanese (26%) than American (60%) students did not work at all, Japanese students did not work fulltime at all while American students (3%) did (chi-square = 83.52; p.=.00).

Data Screening

Given the six dependent variables, MANOVA was used for data analysis. MANOVA asks the question whether some linear combination of the dependent variables varies as a function of some independent variables (here country and gender). Certain theoretical and practical issues were addressed before running procedure MANOVA.

First the theoretical issues. None of the correlations among the six dependent variables (DVs), within each of the four groups, exceeded .41 and only seven were above .3 ensuring that the DVs were not all measuring the same thing. Also, the DVs were entered in descending order of expected differences by country; i.e, those DVs for which larger differences were expected entered before those for which smaller differences were expected.

For the practical issues of data screening the following procedure was used. Univariate normality of variables was checked through distributions. While media use did show some skewness, it was retained in the analysis because with large samples the sampling distribution approaches normality even when raw scores do not. Similar arguments (large samples and grouped data) are extended for the assumption of multivariate normality though it is less readily testable. Also, Mardia (1971) shows that MANOVA is robust to modest violation of normality if the violation is caused by skewness and not outliers.

MANOVA is extremely sensitive to outliers. Univariate outliers were identified as those with z values outside +/- 3.5 (a z value of +/- 3.0 was not used because with large samples, a few such scores are expected). Multivariate outliers were identified using Mahalanobis distance (checked at the .001 level of significance). Together these identified 15 outliers (with two overlaps). After deletion of these cases, a second test for multivariate outliers identified one more case which was subsequently deleted, leaving a total sample size of 634.

Bivariate scatterplots of dependent variables revealed that the data met the assumption of linearity and lack of multicollinearity caused by bivariate correlations. A test was also run to check for multicollinearity caused by multivariate correlations. No tolerance <.1 was found; the data met the assumption.

Homogeneity of the variance-covariance matrix was not, however, established; Box's M was significant. The only solution was to equalize the country by gender cell sizes. As the smallest cell size was 97 cases, the other three cells were reduced to that size through a computer generated random subsample.

Data Analysis

To answer the research question, a MANOVA procedure was run on the subsample. The results, using Wilk's criterion, indicated that the combined DVs were significantly affected by country F(6, 352) = 56.26; p. = .00) and gender F(6, 352) = 3.54; p. = .00), but not by their interaction.

To estimate the impact of each main effect on the individual DVs, a stepdown analysis was run on the prioritized DVs. Also as the pooled within group correlations revealed correlations higher than .30 in three cases, stepdown analysis would be the choice over univariate analysis (Table 2). In the stepdown analysis each DV was analyzed, in turn, with higher-priority DVs treated as covariates and with the highest priority DV (group versus individual orientation) tested in a univariate ANOVA (Table 3).

Differences by Country: Group versus individual orientation did not contribute to predicting differences between American and Japanese youth. Importance ascribed to advertising however did contribute, stepdown F(1, 356) = 14.79; p. = .00. Such contribution was also made by the next three DVs, purchasing involvement, mediause, and importance of brand. Univariate ANOVAs had indicated that each of these four variables differed by country; none of the variables lost their contribution in the stepdown analysis.

A look at adjusted means reveals that the American youth placed less emphasis on advertising (mean = 2.5) and were less involved in their shopping (mean = 3.3) than the Japanese (mean = 2.3 for advertising importance--in this case the smaller number indicated larger importance--and mean = 3.5 for purchasing involvement). The American youth also used media more extensively (mean = 1.5 hours per day)--other studies (Green and Langeard, 1975) have found similar findings--and placed more weight on brand names (mean = 3.15) than did the Japanese youth (mean = .5 hours per day for media use and mean = 3.0 for importance of brand names).

Differences by Gender: Two DVs made unique contributions to predicting gender differences. The highest priority DV, group versus individual orientation, made the largest contribution with females tending to be more group oriented (mean = 2.6) than males (mean = 2.4). The DV that was entered last, functions of brand, was the other contributor to distinguishing between female and male youth consumers. Interestingly, this lowest priority DV assumed importance in the preceding presence of other DVs; it did not make a univariate contribution to gender differences. In such a situation it is best not to interpret finding (Tabachnick and Fidell, 1989). One DV, purchasing involvement, showed a significant univariate but not stepdown F meaning that it shared no unique variability with gender after adjustment for higher priority variables. Its (unadjusted) univariate means indicated that females were more involved (mean = 3.5) than males (mean = 3.3) in purchasing.

Country Gender Interaction: The multivariate F for country by gender interaction was not significant, as reported earlier. However, univariate and stepdown tests revealed a significant interaction effect for the highest priority DV, group versus individual orientation. This is partly due to the fact that MANOVA is not as powerful as ANOVA or ANCOVAs (stepdown). In such cases, no definite conclusions can be presented. The univariate and stepdown results are presented as a guide to future research. The univariate means indicated that Japanese females were the most group oriented and Japanese males the least, with American males and females falling in between at the same spot.

Discussion and Conclusions

The standardization/localization debate which has dominated the field of international advertising, particularly in recent years, has the consumer at its center. Similarities and differences in consumers across cultures have implications not only for the content of advertising, which has been the focus of much of the debate, but also for media planning. That is, it is important to know not only what amounts of information should be provided, which values/appeals should be used, how much brand names should be emphasized, and so on, but also what advertising frequency should be used in which media in different countries.

This study's look at the Japanese and American youth markets found that while country accounted for some differences, gender accounted for others. Japanese and American youth differed in importance placed on advertising, in purchasing involvement, in media use and in the importance of brand names, but they did not differ in their group versus individualistic orientation and in the functions brands perform. The latter finding was expected but the former was not. As apparent from the prioritization of DVs, the lack of differences in perceived functions of advertising was not surprising, but the lack of differences in group versus individualistic orientation certainly was.

Recent literature has suggested that the Japanese youth have come under a large western influence; individualism has become a prime value to them (Buklarewicz, 1990). Marketing and advertising efforts directed to this group by multinational companies will have to take this change into account. Erosion of traditional Japanese values has been noted in the past, but the evidence seems to be mounting that this is particularly tru for Japanese youth and for the value of individualism. Also to be noted is the fact that Japanese males may be the most individualistic consumers.

Marketers and advertisers will also need to note the large difference in media use in particular and, what at first might seem almost contradictory, the higher influence of advertising. It is possible that with smaller exposure to media and consequently to advertising, Japanese youth experience less advertising fatigue and less doubt about advertising claims. Also, Japanese advertising tends to be more soft sell attempting to create advertising affect which may subsequently be transferred to the product.

Despite the fact that advertising has a greater influence on Japanese youth than American youth, Japanese youth place smaller importance on brand names in their shopping behavior. This might be partly explained by the finding that these youth were also more contemplative in their shopping behavior in terms of involvement.

These findings have implications for the transfer of advertising from the United States to Japan: very precise targeting so as to reach these consumers in the little time they expose themselves to media and careful inclusion of information to satisty their higher involvement and smaller emphasis on brand names. If the advertisers are able to satisfy these and other creative criteria, it does not appear that attitudes towards advertising will present an obstacle.

While nationality did not account for the variance in group versus individual orientation, gender did. Females tended to be more group oriented than males in both cultures. If the univariate country by gender interaction findings are taken into account, Japanese females would stand at the group orientation end of the spectrum and Japanese males at the individual orientation. This area might be explored in future research. Tentatively though, it may be suggested that individual appeals may be used in Japan for the youth market with success.

Table 1
Demographics of American and Japanese Students

	American		Japanese	
	n	%	n	%
Gender				
Male	232	61	101	37
Female	145	39	172	63
Total	377	100	273	100
Chi-square = 38.17; p = 0.00.				
Class Year				
Freshmen	100	26	56	20
Sophomore	66	17	59	22
Junior	87	23	58	21
Senior	112	30	72	26
Graduate	12	4	28	11
Total	377	100	273	100
Chi-square = 17.51; p = 0.00.				
Residence				
Dorm	184	49	10	4
With Parents	14	4	172	63
Rent	166	44	91	33
Other	12	3	0	0
Total	376	100	273	100
Chi-square = 315.77; p = 0.00.				
Employment				
Full-time	10	3	0	0
Part-time	141	37	196	74
Not at all	224	60	70	26
Total	375	100	266	100
Chi-square = 83.52; p = 0.00.				
Mean Age	20.45 (n=377)		20.87 (n=273)	

Table 2
Pooled Within Cells Correlations Among Six Dependent Variables

Within Cells Correlations with Standard Deviations on Diagonal

	Grp Orien	Impt Ad	Purch Invol	Media Use	Impt Brand	Func Brand
Group Orientation	.518					
Importance of Ad	-.122	.585				
Purchasing Involvement	.021	-.145	.693			
Media Use	-.051	.072	.075	.507		
Importance of Brand	.234	-.316	.116	.021	.576	
Functions of Brand	-.289	.309	.064	-.017	-.397	.732

Table 3
Tests of Country, Gender and Their Interaction

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Uivariate F	Sig.	Stepdown F	Sig.
Country	Group Orientation	.45	.504	.45	.504
	Importance of Ad	15.26	.000	14.79	.000*
	Purchasing Involvement	7.60	.006	4.66	.031*
	Media Use	307.64	.000	289.52	.000*
	Importance of Brand	4.79	.029	4.86	.028*
	Functions of Brand	.89	.346	2.60	.143
Gender	Group Orientation	8.53	.004	8.53	.004*
	Importance of Ad	2.09	.149	1.18	.278
	Purchasing Involvement	3.86	.050*	3.01	.084
	Media Use	1.65	.200	1.50	.222
	Importance of Brand	.25	.619	.37	.545
	Functions of Brand	2.36	.125	6.38	.012
Country by Gender Interaction	Group Orientation	7.64	.006*	7.64	.006
	Importance of Ad	2.16	.142	1.28	.259
	Purchasing Involvement	.92	.338	.54	.464
	Media Use	.45	.503	.62	.432
	Importance of Brand	.18	.668	.46	.499
	Functions of Brand	2.14	.144	.42	.516

Table 4
Cell Means for MANOVA Univariate and Stepdown Analyses in Cases Where Significance Was Achieved

	Dependent Variable			
	Impt Ad	Purc Invol	Media Use	Impt Brand
Country				
American	2.51	3.32	1.48	3.15
Japanese	2.27	3.48	0.54	2.97

	Group Orientation	Purchasing Involvement*
Gender		
Female	2.56	3.48
Male	2.40	3.33

	Group Orientation*	
Country by Gender	Male	Female
American	2.47	2.47
Japanese	2.33	2.65

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* Refers to unadjusted (univariate) means; all others are adjusted (stepdown) means.

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"In Their Own Words: Advertisers and the Origins of the African-American Consumer Market"

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ABSTRACT

The most comprehensive examination to date on the historical relationship between African-Americans and advertising argues that it was not until the mid-1980s when advertisers began actively to court African-American consumers. While it is true that advertisers resisted African-American consumers for several decades of the twentieth century, there was considerable more effort among advertisers than the aforementioned history acknowledges. This paper develops an alternative (prehistory) to this view by examining advertiser discourse of the 1940s and 1950s in the broader context of capitalist commercial culture. A survey of advertising trade journals demonstrates that during the post-World War II era, advertisers initiated the first concerted effort to reach African-American consumers. This paper provides a critical understanding of advertisers' role in the construction of a separate African-American consumer market. Such a movement among advertisers was a part of the legitimation of the African-American consumer market. The legitimation of this new consumer market represented one aspect of the post-war program of capitalist expansion. Understanding this type of expansion is central to our understanding of the historical evolution of American consumer culture and to the histories of advertising and African-American culture and experience.

In what was the first effort to trace systematically the historical relationship between African-Americans and advertising, Jannette Dates argues that it was well into the 1980s when the advertising industry began actively to court African-Americans as consumers (1990, p. 421).[1] Central to Dates' thesis is the profit motive among advertisers: Black earnings had grown from $77 billion in the mid-1970s to $140 billion in the mid-1980s. By 1990, Blacks represented a $203 billion dollar consumer market. This type of spending power, combined with the increasing influence of African-Americans in network television programming are cited as major factors in the shift among advertisers toward Black consumers (1990, p. 424). However, Dates acknowledges that the issue is more complex and turns to the realm of ideology for an explanation.

Dates "decipher[s] the set of patterns of the controlling ideology by deconstructing the language and behavior of those who made decisions" within the advertising industry" (1990, pp. 422-423). To this end, she discusses advertisers' treatment of Black consumers, describes the images created by these advertisers, and focuses on the images that African-American practitioners and activists sought to establish as a part of the larger effort to reshape the relationship between Black America and advertising. In so doing, Dates sheds some much needed light on both advertising images and advertising industries such as television, radio, and cable. The result is an interesting chronicle of the contemporary (post-1970) relationship between African-Americans and advertising.

However, as an historical examination, Dates' project falls short of her stated purpose. Her attempt to provide an historical interpretation by focusing on economics and ideology was undermined in part by an incomplete historical deconstruction of advertising literature. While it is true that American advertisers resisted marketing to Black consumers for several decades of the 20th century, there was considerably more effort among advertisers prior to 1980 than Dates' history acknowledges. Dates claims that the advertising strategy of target marketing increased in importance in the 1980s when African-American social and economic viability also increased. In Dates' view, because of foreign competition and a softening economy, American advertisers looked to African-Americans (and Hispanics) for new markets (1990, p. 432).

However, it may be more useful to examine such a shift in advertising strategy within the broader context of the historical evolution of American consumer culture. Consumer culture is an historical construct that signifies complex historical processes such as the development of new consumer markets. American consumer culture is part of the cultural hegemonic process by which human agents define themselves primarily in the realm of consumption (as opposed to the realm of production). According to Fox and Lears, in twentieth century America, "consumption has become a cultural ideal, a hegemonic 'way of seeing'. . . ." (1983, p. x) This paper seeks to develop a more robust historical interpretation of the initial efforts by advertisers to market African-American consumers by situating these efforts within the evolution of American consumer culture.

Prior to the second world war, Blacks were considered unimportant to capitalist commercial culture. Following the war, an expanding American economy which led to increases in Black purchasing power and Black migration to the cities were central factors that induced the conscious among advertisers to cultivate Black consumers. Any historical effort that locates the beginning of serious advertiser attention to Black consumers to the mid-1980s ignores important historical developments that can inform our understanding of advertising, African-American history and culture, and the histories of radio, newspapers, and magazines--particularly as they relate to Afro-America.

The purpose of this paper is to add another strand to the history of American advertising as it relates to African-Americans. This paper focuses on the post-world war II era when advertisers began the first concerted effort to cultivate Black consumers. I will illuminate the origins of the process by which the marginal relationship between Afro-America and American commercial culture that had existed prior to the second world war would be transformed into an important association. In short, I hope to demonstrate how African-Americans came to constitute a separate consumer market by the advertising industry. In so doing, I hope to provide an important supplement--a prehistory, to Dates' examination.

The origins of the serious attention given to Black consumers by advertisers in the post-world war II era can be found in advertiser discourse articulated in advertising and sales trade journals. By "discourse," I simply mean language in use or in practice for some desired end. Further, as it is used here, discourse is public, material and grounded in the institutional structures and interests from which it evolves. Although the advertiser discourse of trade magazines tends to exaggerate the authority and credibility of the profession, it nonetheless proves to be an invaluable historical source because it reveals the demeanor and anticipations of the industry with unusual candor (Lears, 1984, p. 350). Although I do not examine advertising images, I do argue that a critical understanding of advertiser discourse is central to understanding the historical relationship between African-Americans and advertising.

I also argue that advertiser discourse representing efforts to court African-American consumers was part of a wider movement that constituted the legitimation of the Black consumer market. By "legitimation" I mean the process by which a practice is affirmed or justified. Legitimation is an important discursive process because legitimation, not manipulation, characterizes hegemony (Altman, 1987, p. 241). In the context of this examination, the legitimation of the African-American consumer market was the process by which this market came to constitute a vital component of the sales and marketing agenda of corporate America, and ultimately, capitalist commercial culture.

The legitimation of the Black consumer market can be seen as one major development within the historical evolution of modern American consumer culture. Ewen argues that the capitalist "project of ideological consumerization" that began in the 1920s reemerged during the post-World War II period (1976, p. 207). He adds that the postwar economic prosperity provided such a fertile ground for capitalist expansion that the consuming visions of America's "captains of consciousness" (1976, p. 206), which emerged in the twenties, began to materialize. In the specific context of advertising, the attention advertisers gave to Black consumers represented the legitimation of the Black consumer market. In the broad context of American consumer culture development, the legitimation of the Black consumer market represented one aspect of the postwar capitalist expansion. Other aspects of this legitimation process that are outside the scope of this paper are the social scientific examinations of African-American consumers and the involvement of African-American leaders in advocating Black consumerism. In this deconstruction of advertiser discourse, I will let the subjects speak for themselves and then offer critical understanding of their discourse.

Introducing Black Consumers: Dos and Don'ts

Even before the war ended, advertisers began to show concern for Blacks as consumers. Before advertisers launched their full attack on the African-American community, they received advice on how to deal with a group of consumers in which they previously had paid virtually no attention to. A 1940 Business Week article told of the Los Angeles Urban League official who served as a consultant to a department store in that city and erred in using dialect and other terms that offended Blacks in an advertisement. The article also reported that the Los Angeles League was established to guide advertisers and agencies in their treatment of African-American consumers. According to the consultant, there were some explicit "dos" and "don'ts" for those who sought the patronage and goodwill of the Black consumer.

Terms that were to be avoided were "Boss," "George," "boy," and other subservient terminology. The term "Negro" was recommended over "colored" and "darkey." The "dos" included recognition of Blacks as good patrons who want the same things whites want; who purchase automobiles, refrigerators, nice clothes and good food; and are "handicapped" by traditions ("Advice on," 1943, p. 47). These types of specific recommendations for dealing with the Black consumer market became an important topic in advertiser discourse.

Sales Management introduced David J. Sullivan in 1943 as its "Negro Market Correspondent." In "Don't Do This--If You Want To Sell Your Products To Negroes!," Sullivan identified several cases where Black consumers took offense to racist product brand names and/or advertising copy. His major point was that such "embarrassing moments" cost the manufacturer sales in the Black consumer market. Sullivan concluded that most of these incidents were the result of "thoughtless" artists and copywriters. He listed ten practical rules for advertising agencies. Among the points were:

> Don't exaggerate Negro characters, with flat noses, thick lips. . . . Avoid incorrect English usage and grammar, and dialect. . . . Don't picture colored women as buxom, broad-faced, grinning mammies, and Aunt Jemimas. . . . Always avoid the word, "Pickaninny," or lampooning illustrations of Negro children. . . . Don't insult the clergy. (Sullivan "Don't Do" 48, 50)

The article also contained an insert from Philip Salisbury, Sales Management's Executive Editor, titled "Why This Article Is Important." Salisbury stated that the exact size of the Black consumer market had never been determined but that his magazine estimated that the 1942 effective buying income was $4.8 billion, equivalent to the total income of fourteen states. He added that Blacks constituted a "market which no manufacturer can ignore!" Salisbury concluded with an introduction of David Sullivan as a "Negro who has been outstandingly successful as a salesman, newspaper executive, and a marketing consultant. . . . He knows *his* market as few whites know theirs" (Sullivan "Don't Do" 48).

Sales Management continued its coverage of the Black consumer in 1945, this time with Sullivan's estimates of Black purchases and per capita income. The article reported that in 1943 the total income of Blacks was $10.29 billion or $779 per capita. In addition, according to Sales Management's Research Department, the national per capita income was $1,103 and the per capita income of whites was $1,140. Two charts were included: One presented population figures, 1943 buying income, and per capita for the 50 cities with the largest African-American population. The other chart presented the growth of the market since 1920 with a breakdown of spending into nearly 20 categories, including housing, food, clothing, personal care, alcoholic beverages, tobacco, recreation, medical, and education ("Negro Incomes" 106).

The article did not include commentary or analysis of the estimates. However, the obvious finding was that with the exception of the depression years, Black expenditures on almost every item increased over the years 1920, 1929, 1935, 1941, and 1943, with the most dramatic increase occurring between 1941 and 1943. For example, total cash income virtually doubled from $5.74 billion to $10.29 billion while savings increased from $263 million to $812 million. The increase in housing was over $600 million, and the amount Blacks spent on clothing almost doubled from around $600 million to approximately $1.1 billion. Blacks paid almost $500 million more in taxes in 1943 than they did in 1941. The only spending category not to show an increase between the two years was automobiles, where Blacks spent some $140 million less. The significant increase in African-American income and spending is indisputable.

In many ways, these articles represent the starting point for the concerted effort advertisers gave to African-American consumers in the 1940s and 1950s. In fact, in 1950, Sullivan wrote that advertisers began to realize the potential of the market in 1945 when money was available to marketers for new market development (Sullivan "Why a Handful" 154). Undoubtedly,

Undoubtedly, the post-war economic growth was the major factor in this unprecedented collective effort. With African-American consumers inching their way up the agendas of many advertisers, the industry utilized the assistance of African-American media practitioners.

Surveying the Black Consumer Market

Considerable industry attention was given to a 1945 study, considered at that time to be one of the most comprehensive surveys of the Black consumer market. Afro-American Newspapers, a 54-year-old publisher of Black newspapers, in cooperation with the Urban League, retained the Research Company of America (RCA) to analyze Black consumers in three east coast cities (Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia). Printer's Ink introduced the $30,000 study as the first national study on consumer needs, purchases, and brand preferences of the urban Black market. According to Edgar A. Steele, the director of research for RCA, Blacks' purchases were so restricted (due to their limited social mobility) that they had a higher relative spendable income than any other group in the nation ("One Hundred Fifty-Eight Negro Newspapers," 1946, p. 98).

In 1947 Sales Management presented graphs of the RCA study, highlighting the three cities in terms of leading brand preferences and weekly earnings during 1945. That same year, a summary of the RCA study was published in the Journal of Marketing. It was written by RCA's Steele, the director of the study's field work. Steele asserted that if the Black population was developed to the average per capita buying level, the importance of the Black consumer market would exceed the nation's entire export market. He also claimed that as a consumer, the African-American "is forging ahead more rapidly than is the average American citizen. Yet, in both sales and in market research this tenth of our population is relatively neglected" (1947, p. 399). Before outlining the survey's methodology, Steele admonished:

> In our market activities we need to set the Negro market off by itself for purposes of study and development, and we must rigorously analyze this market and all its elements in order that it can be built up to its highest potentialities. In this way we shall not only help the Negro tenth of our population, but we shall greatly expand and improve our national market as a whole. (1947, p. 399)

Steele's comparisons were limited to the three cities that were surveyed. In fact, consistent with his claim that the Black consumer market required isolated study, no mention was made of the study's comparisons to Omaha and Milwaukee. After presenting comparative data on income, brand purchases, and education, Steele concluded that the Black consumer is very brand conscious, and even more so as the economic level increases. Although he presented no data on white consumers, Steele closed his article by asserting that brand loyalty is greater among Blacks than whites. He ended by declaring that "[s]ales executives should note" (1947, p. 401). As the following discussion reveals, many in the industry took Steele's advice seriously.

Tide and Other Trade Journals

During the next two decades of intense trade journal coverage of the Black consumer market, one journal probably devoted more space to this consumer market than any other publication. Unlike the other trade publications, *Tide* never named an author of its articles. When *Tide* reported some of the major findings of the aforementioned study, it noted how previous attempts to research the market "have ended in disaster, either from lack of funds to carry through the research, poor research, or some other" ("Negro Markets," 1946, p. 86). The article also explained that the African-American sample was compared to a 1945 survey of "essentially white" markets of Milwaukee and Omaha.

Tide claimed that the findings, "particularly interesting" to national advertisers, indicated that Black consumers were loyal to national brands, used many of the same products as whites, had a relatively higher percentage of education than the national average, and had a fairly high magazine readership. Regarding magazine readership, the study found that Blacks were regular purchasers of *Life*, *Reader's Digest*, and women's magazines ("Negro Markets," 1946, pp. 86, 88). Other comparative data reported in the article dealt with new car purchases, preferences for neighborhood groceries, and brand preferences for flour, pancake and waffle mixes, bread, dog food, laundry soap, toothpaste, liquor, and cigarettes ("Negro Markets," 1946, p. 88).

Advertising Age, the leading advertising trade journal, reported the summary of the RCA findings Steele presented to the New York chapter of the American Marketing Association. His discussion, "The Influence of the Negro on our National Economy," presented comparative data both within the Black markets and between the white and Black markets studied. For instance, about 85% of the Blacks surveyed were found to use packaged coffee compared to 97% of the white sample. In addition, a somewhat higher percentage of Blacks than whites apparently purchased soap products for household laundry use ("Negroes Get More," 1946, p. 30). Unlike the Tide article, Advertising Age did not include Steele's discussion of the data, nor did the publication offer any comments of its own. Missing were the typical words of encouragement to advertisers to pursue a market that, in Tide's words, was "rich, ripe and ready" ("Selling the Negro," 1951, p. 37). The article ended with a summary of the magazine reading habits of the Black families surveyed and was followed by a (separate) short story on Ebony's circulation climb to near the 200,000 mark ("'Ebony' Circulation," 1946. p. 31).

A general assessment of the Black consumer market that originally appeared in a 1947 Kiplinger Magazine was reprinted in that same year in a June edition of The Management Review. The article began by noting that, despite the fact that the 14 million who comprised the Black consumer market exceeded the people in New York State and Canada, less was known about this market than any other group. Businesses were said to ignore Blacks as consumers because their minimal purchasing power minimized the pay-off from special advertising appeals. The article claimed that both assumptions were incorrect in that total Black income ranged between the government's $7 billion dollar figure and a market analyst's $10 billion dollar estimate ("Fourteen Million," 1947, p. 336). After surveying Black income in selected cities, migration and population statistics, and other "proofs of the Negro's ascent of the economic ladder," the article also debunked the commonly held premises that Black consumers make minimal purchases (most of which were primarily on installment plans) and seek out the least expensive goods. Instead, the article claimed that not only was the Black consumer just as reliable a risk as anyone with similar income, but Blacks would furnish their homes better than whites in the same income bracket. It also was noted that because African-Americans were unwelcome in many public places, much of the disposable income was directed to goods spent in the home ("Fourteen Million," 1947, p. 337).

Citing the finding from the study for Afro-American Newspapers that Blacks were more brand conscious than whites, the article attributed this fact to a greater need for protection in purchases and a desire for class status among Blacks. Race consciousness was cited as a strong factor in Black purchases as were courteous treatment of Black customers and special advertising appeals ("Fourteen Million," 1947, p. 337). The article concluded with a discussion of the Black press and noted that although it was not a widely used advertising vehicle, it was a potentially important factor in pursuing the African-American consumer. In fact, the article cited the RCA study as evidence that, in the absence of special advertising appeals, Blacks would continue to buy popular national brands. It was claimed that reading the Black press was central to understanding the buying patterns of Blacks. After mentioning some possible reasons companies chose not to advertise in the Black press, it was concluded that advertisers were "neglecting a medium that is effective in a wide and potentially rich field. Here is a multi-billion-dollar market awaiting an invitation from business to buy" ("Fourteen Million," 1947, p. 338).

In 1947, Tide offered its own appraisal of the Black consumer market and claimed that, of all the markets in need of development by advertisers, the Black market was the largest and most important. Advertisers were given two alternatives: "to bypass this market, as they tended to do before the war, or to study, appraise and set out to develop it" ("The Negro Market: An," 1947, p. 15). Several companies that pursued the latter course were highlighted, although two factors were identified as hampering this group of advertisers and their successors: the lack of reliable market data and limitations of the Black press. The rapidly-changing nature of the Black consumer market was perceived as a major reason for the lack of statistics. Tide lamented the fact that the only reliable data on Blacks were the 1940 census figures and that wartime migration created problems for market researchers in locating the Black population. Another problem advertisers apparently faced in reaching Black consumers was two-fold: available media and how to appeal to the market.

According to Tide, the reasons advertisers ignored Black consumers, although no longer valid, included: minimal purchasing power; the tendency to buy national brands anyway due to domestic service associations with prosperous whites, whom they supposedly emulated; and presumed exposure to white media. In terms of Black media, it was reported that some advertisers believed that advertising in Black media would affect sales adversely to white consumers. Ad agencies reportedly were skeptical of the higher advertisement preparation costs (e.g., Black models and special copy) and had a distrust of Black media in general and many products advertised in Black media in particular (e.g., hair straighteners and skin bleaches) ("The Negro Market: An," 1947, p. 16).

The article ended with a survey of the Black media available to advertisers--newspapers and magazines, and a discussion of market research. Ebony was cited as the outstanding magazine in part because its editor John Johnson "champions the Negro causes consistently but with enough taste and restraint to avoid the taint that afflicts so much of the Negro press." ("The Negro Market: An," 1947, pp. 17-18). One major reserarch project reported to be underway was sponsored by the United Newspapers and conducted by RCA. Commenting on the research firm's previous study, Tide found the technical aspects sound but questioned the study's value because it was based on outdated census data.

Proposed national panels by the J. Walter Thompson Company and Industrial Surveys, Inc., were cited as promising future ventures. However, one research undertaking that went unnoticed by Tide belonged to Ebony magazine.

By 1950, Ebony magazine had become the leading magazine among African-Americans and contracted the services of Daniel Starch to study the consumer habits of its readers. That same year, Advertising Age reported on the first installment of what eventually became a regular survey of Ebony subscribers. The article noted that, although Ebony readers constituted a considerably higher income group than the national level of the Black population, the survey remained "indicative of the general buying habits and intentions of this major minority market" ("'Ebony' Survey," 1950, p. 16). The article summarized the study's findings on an array of buying habits that included automobiles, radio-phonographs, sound recordings, home appliances, cigarettes, alcohol, soft drinks, food, and personal care products. It also outlined Black responses to advertising.

Most Ebony readers expressed a preference for Black models in advertisements, although a "noteworthy minority--37.6% of the men and 36.8% of the women," expressed no particular preference. The article included Ebony's alleged contention with the wording of the survey question that made the results inconclusive. According to the piece, Ebony initiated a "protracted study of this problem and is prepared to make specific recommendations on individual campaigns" ("Ebony Survey," 1950, p. 16). Other results reported were that more than half of the respondents had not been to a movie theater in the prior week and that 81 percent of the men surveyed were hat wearers. The latter finding was compared to a survey "some years ago" that found only 41.5% of the nation's total male population wore hats ("Ebony Survey," 1950, p. 16).

The article also included comments on Ebony's high scores on the readership survey, Black income, and other demographic data. It concluded with comments on the significance of the preliminary results from an Ebony regional advertising manager: According to William P. Grayson, the findings underscored the opportunity for advertisers to expand their strategies aimed at the Black consumer market. In Grayson's view:

> The general assumption that this is simply a market for low cost goods is disputed . . . as it has been by every other survey made on the subject.
>
> But still the erroneous point of view persists in many quarters, despite the fact that prestige and quality--not cost--are the most important factors to stress dealing to colored buyers. ("Ebony Survey" 17)

As greater numbers of advertisers turned their attention to the African-American consumer market, their success stories were chronicled in advertising trade journals. As exemplified by Grayson's remarks in Advertising Age, the trades included testimonials from those who worked directly with Black consumers and those who studied them. These case studies and testimonials are important inasmuch as they suggest how advertisers moved beyond suggestions given to them into actual practice.

Case Studies and Testimonials

A 1949 article in Printer's Ink detailed the campaign by Pepsi-Cola to reach Black consumers. The article was written by Adrian Hirschorn, research director of the Colby Advertising Agency. The campaign was reportedly under the direction of Edward Boyd, a sales manager in charge of specialized markets. Pepsi's campaign listed several objectives that included stimulating favorable attitudes toward the beverage and creating a desire among Blacks to emulate users of the soft drink. To accomplish these objectives, the company ran advertisements in some 50 Black newspapers that used a theme, "leader in his/her field." This ad campaign featured prominent Blacks, summaries of their achievements, and a claim that Pepsi was also a leader in its field. This strategy of "implied emulation" was seen as an effective strategy of reaching Black consumers and one that had been used successfully for such products as Lucky Strike Cigarettes and Beech Nut Gum (Hirschorn, 1949, p. 40).

In 1950, Sales Management's David J. Sullivan used the case study/testimonial approach to explain why a "handful" of advertisers dominated the Black consumer market. He began with the usual overview of economic and population trends, although this time he devoted some attention to the Black farmer. He claimed the purchasing power of the Black consumer market at $10 billion and climbing, with continued growth both economically and politically. Sullivan argued that the cultivation of this consumer market represented businesses' "enlightened self-interest" or "social consciousness" ("Why a Handful," 1950, pp. 154, 156). He cited some industry names that included Edward Bernays, considered by many to be the founder of modern public relations, as examples of those who have been

> [a]dvancing the concept that management must become aware of community and consumer needs and attitudes. Companies with a 'sense of social consciousness' at the top level have made the most progress in capturing markets and are maintaining positions of leadership--in some cases, outright dominance of markets. (156)

Standard Oil headed Sullivan's list for its employment of a Black American to head Black consumer market operations. Continental Oil was hailed for its Black manager, as was Rumford Chemical (foods), General Electric, and Lever Brothers. According to Sullivan, the most dramatic change was in the beverage industry, alcoholic and non-alcoholic.

Sullivan described Pepsi-Cola as the undisputed leader, not only for its 40% share of the Black consumer market, but also because he claimed that it was the first major soft drink company to give consideration to Black consumers on the same basis the company considered others in the marketplace--solely as consumers. Sullivan commended Pepsi for the use of African-Americans in its marketing campaign and had even higher praise for the alcoholic beverage industry. He noted that liquor sales in urban markets constituted a disproportionate ratio to the size of the Black population, despite the fact that Blacks were not heavy consumers of hard liquor. (Sullivan "Why a Handful," 1950, pp. 158-159).

Sullivan concluded with a "success story" of a vice-president in charge of sales at Maryland's largest Dodge and Plymouth dealer. The author quoted another marketing expert to help justify such management moves:

> If a company can have an export manager, or vice-president in charge of export markets, then I can see ample reason for a concern having a vice-president in charge of Negro market operations. Certainly our export markets as they now stand nowhere match the size of the American Negro market. We get our money back easily in the Negro market and substantially raise the level of our economy at the same time. (Sullivan "Why a Handful," 1950, p. 160)

In July of both 1951 and 1952, the African-American consumer market was the cover story in Tide. The 1951 story included a boxed insert, presumably from the editor, headlined "Changing Views on the Market." For the first time the journal acknowledged some of the people behind the coverage of the Black consumer market. It even included a quotation of part of a memo from a senior associate editor on a perceived change in attitude toward Black consumers that she and her staff working on the article had discovered "wherever they went":

> 'I think a major point of the story could well be the striking change that has taken place in advertisers' and agencies' attitudes . . . since our last story (March 15, 1947). People then tended to talk as though we were researching a pretty obscure topic about which they knew little, and seemed to have only a rather dutiful, somewhat passing interest.'
>
> 'Now that is sharply changed. . . . Important executives this time showed great interest, asked what we had found out about the market, went far out of their way to express their personal appreciation of the importance of the subject. . . .' ("Selling the" 37)

The memo also noted how executives were anxious to see a story that went beyond the recitation of market data, media claims, and advertisers' campaigns. It went on to assert that advertisers hoped that Tide's coverage reflected what they believed was a "new, fair, mutually respectful attitude between their organizations" and Black media people ("Selling the," 1951, p. 37).

The cover story began with the controversy over the "Amos-n-Andy" television program. Beginning with the question, "[h]ad Blatz blundered?" the story acknowledged the NAACP's protest of the program that urged the beer company to drop its sponsorship. Although the NAACP charged that "Amos-n-Andy" was '[A] gross libel on the Negro and distortion of the truth,' Tide defended both Blatz and the show, saying that seldom, "if ever, had a sponsor taken such great pains to assure a show's complete acceptance." In Tide's opinion, Blatz "wisely" chose to persevere in the storm, hoping that the program would prove no more offensive to Blacks then "The Goldbergs" was to Jews ("Selling the," 1951, p. 37). The article continued:

> For Blatz was making a frank bid for Negro trade, believing . . . that the pursuit of the Negro as a consumer is sound business thinking. In bidding for the Negro, Blatz--like a growing number of advertisers--believes that the profits to be reaped will far outweigh the perils to be risked. ("Selling the," 1951, p. 37)

Predictably, Tide discussed the purchasing power of Blacks, although this time the market was compared to such foreign markets as Belgium, Greece, and Australia. After a summary of the population distribution, growth, and migration patterns, education and employment were noted as examples of Black progress. ("Selling the," 1951, pp. 37-39). Next, Tide considered the African-American as a consumer.

The trade journal noted those Black marketing consultants who claimed that advertisers must make a sincere effort to understand the Black consumer and his or her wants in order to market them successfully. According to one consultant, Blacks were tired of seeing Booker T. Washington in advertisements directed to them. In his words, it was "up to the marketing man to get rid of segregation!" In another's words, "[w]hy not a picture of a pretty Negro gal with beautiful legs?" A Black sales manager claimed that the Black consumer had an almost childlike desire for recognition, which according to Tide, explained Blacks' affinity for name brands. In the words of one Black consultant, Blacks carried "quality-consciousness to almost ridiculous extreme. Is it a complex or a habit? Nobody knows. And nobody cares" ("Selling the," 1951, pp. 39-40). The journal cited a consumer survey that revealed that 4.4% of whites purchased suits that cost over $75 compared to 5.6% of Blacks. Calling the desire for quality among Blacks an "almost unnatural attempt to gain recognition," Tide quoted an Ebony editorial that rationalized the tendency of Blacks to buy Cadillacs. In Ebony's view, because of the frustration Blacks experienced with Jim Crow, they "naturally demonstrate their hostility by matching the best the white man has" ("Selling the," 1951, p. 40). Next the lengthy article gave attention to Black people and their media.

Due in part to the fact that they paid two or three times as much for a Black newspaper as for a white paper, Tide characterized the Black American as a "reader." A representative of a Black newspaper association claimed that although everything Blacks bought was not advertised in the Black press, everything advertised in their press was purchased by them. He also noted that of the 100 leading advertisers in 1950, 38 used the African-American press and 19 of those have used it for 10 years and more. He added that, without the Black press, the race would live in a "blackout." Tide agreed, saying that Black newspapers did an "admirable (if not sensational) job of briefing" Blacks on the events around the world and what other Blacks were doing to bring pride to the race. Ebony, described as "the Negro Life," was mentioned as the prime example of the current success of Black magazines. ("Selling the," 1951, p. 42).

The cover story closed with a short discussion of Blacks and their relationship with the radio and business industries. Regarding radio, Blacks were considered to be as avid radio listeners as they were readers. The few stations that ran all-Black programming were cited, as was the only Black-owned radio station (WERD, Atlanta). Tide argued that businesses that market to Black consumers achieved more than increased sales. Asia, Africa, and parts of Latin America were said to judge American enterprise by its attitude towards Black consumers. Thus, businesses that recognized Blacks as viable consumers were solidifying favorable world opinion of America. The article ended by returning to the "Amos-n-Andy" controversy, claiming that Blatz did what it could to strengthen Black sentiment towards the program by writing a letter to the NAACP president expressing the company's good will. According to Tide, Blatz, through no fault of its own, learned, as a prominent Black writer-journalist wrote, that there's no such thing as a Black problem, only a white problem ("Selling the," 1951, p. 44).

The second part of Tide's extensive coverage on the Black consumer market highlighted several case studies of successful efforts in marketing Black consumers. Beginning with the Hoover Vacuum Company's announcement to begin advertising in Ebony, the article also cited Pillsbury Mill's close associations with the popular Black journal. Among the numerous companies identified were Dean Milk, Schlitz Beer, Swift and Company, and International Cellucotton (manufacturer of Kleenex). Tide pointed out that the Kotex manufacturer was the second national advertiser (after Chesterfield) to utilize Black media on a large-scale basis. It was noted further how, as a new advertiser to Blacks, Kotex used to tint the faces of the people in its ads. The practice was discontinued allegedly due to high costs, although there was apparently negligible reader reaction to the change ("Case Studies," 1951, pp. 44-46). Throughout the twelve pages that were devoted to the African-American consumer market were advertisements for African-American newspapers, Ebony magazine, radio station WERD, and other radio stations that featured Black programs and personalities.

Tide's 1952 cover story on the Black consumer market resembled the preceding year's. The theme in the 1952 article was the progress Blacks were making as a people and as a consumer market. Tide quoted an executive of a Black publication who credited Tide's coverage the year before for the attention given to the Black consumer market. The manager wrote that since Tide's 1951 cover story,

> [a]dvertisers have studied, examined, analyzed the market from all angles and have come to the same conclusion as **Tide**: that here was a 'rich, ripe and ready' market waiting for cultivation. Many moved in--some gracefully and cautiously; a few, ignoring some of the warning lights put up by **Tide** . . . charged in like a football player who had forgotten his signals--and got knocked for a loss. ("The Negro Market: As Customers," 1952, p. 45)

Tide covered the usual areas of Black wealth and geographical location, this time noting that the most surprising aspect of the market was its purchasing power, which it compared to Canada's, noting that the total income of Blacks was superior. Blacks were seen as good but "tough customers" for advertisers. Blacks, it was said, wanted to be advertised to, not at. After reviewing some of the "dos" and "don'ts" of advertising to Blacks, Tide called the Black consumer a "hypersensitive" purchaser of quality goods, who sometimes buys items "far above and beyond his actual means--so long as it is the best a white man can buy. It is the best way of assuring himself of his equality" ("The Negro Market: As Customers," 1952, p. 47). A Black newspaper representative validated this observation by noting that it was not uncommon to find a low income Black polishing his Cadillac. He added; 'Go up to his room and you may not find much, . . . but he's got that Cadillac" ("The Negro

Market: As Customers," 1952, p. 45). Tide considered this type of spending trait indicative of the African-American consumer's status as an excellent credit risk in that once an expensive good is purchased, "it becomes adamant that payments be made promptly lest the visitor return to find the appliance or auto gone" ("The Negro Market: As Customers," 1952, p. 48).

Tide concluded its discussion with a survey of the Black press and some of the new advertisers that it had secured. A quotation from an Ebony editorial was used to support the contention that Black consumers were not as poor (or rich) as many observers believed. Upon learning this, advertisers discovered that Blacks' "loyalty to national brand foods, drinks, tobaccos and other products is higher than that of whites in the same income bracket" ("The Negro Market: As Customers," 1952, p. 48).

Printer's Ink ran a series of articles on the African-American consumer market between 1955 and 1958. By the 1960s, all of the major advertising trade journals were devoting space to this "new" consumer market. The focus of these article resembled earlier articles, presenting population, income and spending data, highlighting African-American media and practitioners, and surveying successful campaigns and associations. It is clear from this discussion that throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the African-American consumer market became a prominent feature in sales and marketing discourse.

Conclusion: The Legitimation of the African-American Consumer Market

The preceding discussion demonstrates that advertiser discourse on the Black consumer market constructed a group of consumers identified by race and geographic location; characterized by increasing wealth, education, employment opportunities; and, most notably, possessing consumption traits that were either distinct from or similar to whites. While advertisers took notice of what they saw as unique patterns of Black consumption, they also marveled over those characteristics of Black consumption that paralleled white consumption. White consumption patterns were the standard upon which Black consumption traits were compared. Occasionally, Black consumption that deviated from the white norm was perceived as deviant in the pejorative sense. Many Black consumption patterns were perceived as a response to their inferior social status. The emergence of the Black consumer market was seen as the result of migration into urban industrial centers, which was a result of a productive economy. In essence, advertisers constructed a Black consumer market from a race whose economic situation (spending and consumption patterns) and urban geographic location reflected both the nation's and the race's economic, political, and social progress. But this market remained distinct from the mainstream white consumer market.

Upon closer inspection of advertiser discourse, a complete if not totally accurate representation of the socioeconomic position of Blacks during the war and its aftermath was absent.

Advertisers usually ignored any evidence that suggested the socioeconomic position of Blacks had not significantly improved after their move to the cities. For example, Baran and Sweezy provide evidence that the occupational status of Blacks relative to whites did not improve appreciably between 1940 and 1962. They also argue that despite a decrease in the income gap between Blacks and whites during World War II, there was no change in income differential during the 1950s and that, in fact, Black unemployment rose between 1940 and 1962, as did the "ghettorization" of Blacks (1966, pp. 258-263). Furthermore, Pettigrew cites evidence that in each interrelated realm--health, employment, business, income, housing, voting, and education--the absolute gains of Blacks in the 1950s pale when contrasted with white gains (1965, p. 324). Such a relative notion of Black progress was obscured in the trade journals.

In many ways, advertisers constructed a way of life among Blacks that was dramatically different from the pre-World War II period. To advertisers, migration was not only the major factor in the population shifts among Afro-America, it was the force behind a perceived profound change in Afro-America from a rural southern way of life to northern urban lifestyle. But in fact, after closer investigations of both migration and segregation patterns, most observers now believe there were less distinct differentiations between Blacks in the North and South (Kusmer, 1986, p. 112).

Of course, advertisers were most concerned only with those socioeconomic aspects of Black life that in their view facilitated the consumption of goods. Thus, income, employment, education, and certain spending habits were the important facets of Black life. Many of the harsh realities of Black life such as crime and unequal treatment under the law were rendered inconsequential to Black participation in the consumer market. Although advertisers talked about the importance of understanding the Black consumer, the realm of understanding was limited within narrow perimeters. For instance, advertisers seldom contemplated why Blacks were offended by certain terms in advertising copy, why they appeared more loyal to national brands, and why their consumption of certain types of products (tobacco and alcohol) was disproportionately greater than white consumers'. In fact, most of the implications of consumption were unimportant to the effective marketing of Black consumers. The few attempts advertisers made to confront unique and/or potentially onerous purchasing trends among Blacks usually produced rationalizations, if not indifference.

While advertisers lamented the lack of current and reliable data on Blacks, they simultaneously accepted (and used) out-dated and unreliable statistics. There were even occasions when advertisers made exaggerated and undocumented claims in their discussions of the income and/or spending power of Blacks. For example, one common assertion was that Blacks spent $15 billion dollars in 1951, although much of the evidence suggests that Blacks could not have spent more than $6 billion that year

(Frazier, 1957, p. 255). From a marketing perspective, whatever absolute increases existed in Black income (and perhaps purchasing power) since World War II were sufficient reasons to pursue Black consumers. To manufacturers and advertisers, the fact that the relative economic position of Blacks had not appreciably improved was a moot point. African-Americans moved out of a largely subsistence economy into a money economy and as their average levels of income and education rose, their expenditures for products and services increased correspondingly. These products were provided by white businesses.

The construction and legitimation of the African-American consumer market was a major component of the dual effort to solidify the national market and expand into international markets. For example, during the 1950s, American investments in Europe increased three times to a total of $5 billion. The continuing success enjoyed by the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency in the 1950s was attributable to the firm's dominance of the international market at a time when American business had begun to expand overseas (Fox, 1984, pp. 174-175). Like the international market, the Black consumer market was one, albeit important, aspect of the overall post-war business strategy of market expansion. In fact, one trade publication article acknowledged this connection explicitly in a discussion on the Black consumer market. It wrote that "[o]ne of the things which advertisers must do in the years to come, if they are to keep on succeeding, is to fix their sights on the underdeveloped markets of the U.S. and the world" ("Negro Market: An Appraisal," 1947, p. 15). The African-American consumer market represented an undeveloped and lucrative consumer market.

The legitimation of the African-American consumer market was made possible not only because of the efforts of advertisers, but the academic community as well. On the one hand, the scientific study of Black consumers provided support for many of the consumption themes that resulted from advertisers' anecdotal evidence. On the other hand, the serious study of the Black consumer also uncovered some of the industry's misconceptions about Black consumers in particular and Blacks in general. Some of the important implications of Black consumption patterns that were ignored by advertisers were considered by social scientists.

By 1950, considerable scholarly attention had been given to Black income and consumption patterns, Black marketing strategies, Black media, and other social and economic aspects of Black life that most scholars found relevant to Black participation in the national market. By 1950, the study of the Black consumer was a legitimate academic enterprise. In borrowing from empirical schools of statistical psychological and sociological research for models of what has been called administrative research, the dominant academic concern was with the behavioral characteristics of the Black consumer market and the initial goal was to help businesses obtain a successful market position among Black consumers.

Finally, African-American cultural leadership also contributed to the legitimation of the African-American consumer market. Most prominent in this vein was John Johnson, publisher of Ebony magazine. Johnson and his publishing company provided advertisers with research data on African-Americans, marketing strategies to reach African-American consumers, and perhaps most important, a respectable medium in which to reach these consumers. In becoming the leading Black spokesperson for this new market, Johnson articulated a persuasive set of discourses on African-American politics and culture that was partially motivated by his own business interests.

This paper has attempted extend the work of Dates by tracing the origins of the systematic attention advertisers gave to African-American consumers. In so doing, a more complete view of the historical relationship between African-Americans and advertising has been offered. However, we have yet to develop a complete landscape of this history. A call is made for systematic analysis of advertisements and images presented in advertisements prior to 1960 in order to construct what eventually will be a definitive history of advertising and African-Americans.

Notes

1. Although there is currently a movement towards referring to the Black people who reside in America as "African-Americans," no concensus exists on the accepted term. Contemporary discourse employs several terms interchangably: "Blacks," "African-Americans," "Afro-Americans," and "Black Americans." While the author prefers the term "African-Americans," to avoid confusion to the reader, this paper utilizes all of the terms identified above. Similarly, the terms "African-American" "Black America," Afro-America," and "Black" will be used to denote the Black community in general. The only exceptions to this usage are when other racial references are used in quotations, as I seek to preserve the original language of the author and maintain consistency with the historical moment under discussion.

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AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF VISUAL CUES IN ADVERTISING

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AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF VISUAL CUES IN ADVERTISING

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This study uses semiotics for a textual analysis of the decoding of visuals in an advertising commercial. The study used viewers' open-ended responses to the television commercial "1984" to analyze how the cueing process works in the development of the viewer's interpretations of meaning. Viewers were accurately perceptive in most of their interpretations: understanding of the science fiction story line was more evident than reception of the competitive message, however most viewers understood that the story was a metaphor for a new product introduction. The study found that visual analogies and metaphors help viewers learn about the product and that viewer responses reflected a preponderance of connotative idiosyncratic meanings,. This study also validated the notion that cues act as cultural codes

AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF VISUAL CUES IN ADVERTISING

Based on Umberto Eco's notion of text, this study uses semiotics for a textual analysis of an advertising commercial[1]. Originating from a linguistic context, semiotics, or the study of the science of signs, was pioneered in the U.S. by Charles Pierce, and by Levi Strauss and Ferdinand Saussure in France. By applying their models to visual text, this study investigates advertising images from a semiotics perspective.

This analysis focuses on the advertising visuals used to activate people and induce them to buy products, specifically symbolic visuals in the semiotic sense[2] and metaphoric visuals which are particularly "abstract and therefore intellectually demanding."[3] The purpose of this study is to use viewers' open-ended, on-line responses to the television commercial "1984" to capture their interpretations of the visual information received. In particular, this study will look at how the cueing process works in the development of the viewer's interpretations of meaning.

Semiotics and Visual Text

Semiological thought provides a perfect platform for studying video text messages. Roland Barthes[4] suggests that messages be approached from their denotative and connotative meanings. Denotative messages are the specific meanings people get from a sign; they are descriptors. Connotative messages deal with what a thing symbolizes, and what it reflects about the culture. Connotative messages are culture-bound, and have particular significance for this study.

Barthes also states that the connotative meanings of signs ultimately turn into myths. According to Coward and Ellis, the "mechanism of myth is the way the habitual representations tangle themselves up in everyday objects and practices so that these ideological meanings come to seem natural. In the two systems of meaning, denotative is the 'object-language' and connotation is the myth that attaches itself to it, which takes advantage of the form of this denotative language to insinuate itself."[5] Semiotics becomes a method of disentangling the myth from the denoted sign in visual communication.

The concept that unifies the different elements of the process of meaning construction is that of code. A code is the store of experience upon which both the advertiser and audience draw in their participation in the construction of 'commodity meaning.' An understanding of how meaning is constructed by viewers viewers of television commercials necessitates the analysis of advertising codes.

Classified as a variant of audience-oriented criticism by Suleiman[6], semiotic textural analysis has value for understanding the communication process when it provides clues to how meanings are derived by the people to whom the advertising is directed. According to Fry and Fry[7], the semiotic approach requires a rethinking of the transaction between mediated texts and the audience signification in terms of understanding how audience members make sense of media texts they receive. Some progress in understanding advertising audience decoding can be credited to Wenner[8] who explored the audience's role in making meaning from beer commercials, and Verba & Camden[9] who analyzed consumer meanings in ads for such product categories as magazines, bras, and defense contractors. From the visual perspective, Rune Peterson's[10] examination of perceived message intentions in print visuals provides insight into the usage and limitations of visual communication.

Cueing

In classical communication studies a message is encoded by the source, transmitted through a channel, and decoded by a receiver. In advertising the message is put into words and pictures by a creative team, approved by a client, distributed through a medium like television or magazines, and--assuming it gets attention--it is decoded by the targeted audience. In order for the audience to make sense of the information, however, the message has to use appropriate signs and symbols to stimulate the individual's perceptual system into action.

A *cue* is a signal of something or a reminder of something. It brings to mind something from past knowledge or previous experience that provides a framework of meaning that can be used to interpret the sign. The concept of cueing is very important to visual communication because much of past experience is filed in memory as a visual element. In other words, while cues can and do work on the semantic level for certain types of information, perceptual psychologists focus more on the important role of visual imagery in the cueing process based as it is on experiential knowledge.

Advertising, with its highly condensed message formats, uses a shortcut form of information processing. Through association, two thoughts--usually a product and a selling message--are connected in the mind. If this works successfully, when you think about the selling message with its visual cues, you recall the product and vice versa. Clearly this message strategy is heavily dependent on the successful functioning of the cueing process. There simply isn't time in most advertisements for elaborated message development, so the message designers depend upon cues to elicit the associated meanings. In other words, cueing drives the process of association.

This paper will investigate the cueing process used by viewers of advertising in terms of the development of and understanding of two types of complex symbolic information: metaphors and meta-codes. Cueing, particularly visual cueing, is essential for successful decoding of both message forms.

The complex nonverbal commercial "1984," which introduced the Macintosh computer, will be used to analyze symbolic meaning production by viewers from an essentially visual message. Apple Corporation chose the 1984 Super Bowl as an arena for unveiling its new Macintosh computer in a spectacular commercial produced for a single viewing. While only aired once, the*1984* commercial has been pointed to as a unique and distinctive example of advertising creativity. Admittedly the year1984 is past and that unique Super Bowl situation can not be recreated, but this particular commercial is still an ideal tool for analyzing meaning production because of its nonverbal message structure and sophisticated use of symbols and metaphors.

Symbolic Meaning

In order to understand how visuals signal meaning, we need to understand how symbolic meaning is produced. The source of the most extensive analysis of symbolic meaning is semiotics, where a sign is something that stands for something else. Ferdinand de Saussure explains that the sign process involves a *signifier*--a word, sound, or object--that represents a *signified*, which is the concept, idea, or thought that you want to communicate. In other words, a drawing of a car and the letters C A R (the signifiers) can both be said to represent, or signify, the shiny, steel vehicle with four wheels (the signified) that sits in the driveway. Note that in this example, both the drawing and the signified are products of visual imagery.

The link between the signified and its signifiers is established through the process of cueing, but the role of cueing in semiotic interpretation is even more complex than that. C. S. Pierce categorizes the type of signification as *iconic, symbolic,* or*indexical.* An iconic sign looks like what it represents--a picture of a rose, for example, has elements that resemble a real life rose. An indexical sign is a clue that links or connects things in nature. Wilted leaves, for example, may signify that a flower needs watering.

A symbol, however, is more complex. It is something that represents something else by convention or by association. For example, a dove is a symbol for peace and a balance scale is a symbol for justice. We have learned in the U.S. at least to agree upon the meaning of both of these symbols by convention. Symbols, obviously, are socially and culturally determined and their meanings can change between groups and across time. A flower is a symbol of love on Mother's Day or Valentine's Day. During the Sixties, however, the flower came to be a symbol for war protest and at that time--and even now for people who lived through those days--can arouse incredible combative emotional responses. Symbolic meanings, because they are so culturally derived and dependent on learned meanings, are less well anchored in iconographic representation and are most subject to personal and idiosyncratic interpretation.

A cue, the signal that stimulates the production of meaning in a receiver's mind, is particularly important in understanding symbolic meaning. At the symbolic level, the cue is more than just a simple representation because it elicits a complex structure of meaning based on previously encountered networks of associations. For example, the flower children symbol of the Sixties would mean very little to someone who wasn't born then, isn't a U.S. citizen, or who knows little or nothing about the antiwar movement of that period.

Metaphoric Meaning

The process of symbolization is broad and guides much of our meaning production both visually and verbally. A more complex form of symbolic communication, however, is derived from metaphoric thinking. For analyzing this type of meaning, we turn to literary analysis, as in the work of Barbara Stern[11]. Metaphors point out similarities or commonalities between two things. They evoke meaning by transferring qualities from a referent to a new object through implied comparison, the resemblance being based on analogy.

In verbal language, one thing is likened to another by being spoken of as if it were that other thing: the same process operates visually by presenting an object or event in what the context or form usually associated with something else. Verbally, the comparison can be implied, which is common in metaphors, or stated by using the word *like* as in a simile, which is a specific type of metaphor. However, there is no visual equivalent to the word like, therefore most visual communication that uses analogical thinking is referred to as metaphoric.

There is always some point of obvious comparison-- however abstract-- on which the similarities necessary in metaphoric thinking can be built. For example, in the simile, "the highway interchange looks like spaghetti," there is a physical similarity between the ribbons of concrete and strands of pasta and this structural comparison is enhanced by the interwoven patterns the two create in space.

Kaplan says a metaphor is a combination of two ideas presented in relationship to one another such that one idea is used to organize or conceptualize the other. He explains that the meaning of the metaphor results from this relationship between the two ideas. He further explains that there are two additional conditions required for metaphorical meaning: 1. some features of the two ideas are shared between them and 2. the attempt to map one idea onto the other must violate linguistic norms or beliefs to the extent that a measure of tension is created. So there is a condition of similarity (shared features) and incongruity (tension) which determines the effectiveness and appeal of the metaphor.[12]

A metaphorical expression in a sense is a "category mistake" because it challenges the reader to make sense of something that doesn't quite fit. At the same time metaphors are generative because they expand the conventional way of seeing things and this, of course, can produce a variety of idiosyncratic meanings.

Metaphoric thinking operates by linking concepts at different levels of abstraction, thus making generalization possible. Visual metaphors, for example, typically use a concrete form--such as buildings, flags, statues, people, and possessions--to represent abstract ideas such as freedom, change, intellect, hope, endurance, equality, or quality. As Linda Scott has pointed out,[13] analysis of advertising usually focuses on the referential uses of visuals which highlight and showcase the product while ignoring the deeper levels of meaning produced by such visuals at the metaphoric level and the generalization processes on which meaning is constructed.

In order to do such an analysis, it is necessary to deconstruct the levels of abstraction and identify the patterns of generalization. What this suggests is that one might hypothesize levels of abstraction--a hierarchy of meaning production-- with iconic meanings at the lowest or simplest level followed by more complex symbolic forms such as those that elicit metaphoric meanings. Metaphoric meaning is deemed more complex because the substitution and generalization process of metaphors makes more demands on the receiver than the referential process of iconographic meaning. Metaphors also demand that the receiver puzzle through the tensions and ambiguities implicit in the metaphoric form.

Metaphoric analysis is important because symbolic imagery is such an important meaning carrier in advertising, and particularly in television advertising. As Pollay and Mainprize have found, metaphor is the most convenient form for transferring abstract qualities like value and durability to products.[14] Leiss, et. al. contend that "metaphor is the very heart of the basic communication form used in modern advertising."[15] Given that the 1984 commercial functions as an extended metaphor, a study of this commercial's visual communication must attempt to analyze how well the abstract qualities that the advertiser wishes to associate with the computer are indeed transferred to the viewers.

Meta-Codes

In semiotic theory, what holds the patterns of meaning together is a code, an agreed upon set of rules that guide the meaning maker. Berger explains that "people carry codes around in their heads, highly complex patterns of associations" that enable them to interpret symbolic and metaphoric communication correctly.[16]

When the interpretation of a code, like advertising, for example, is based on some other system of codes, then a message is said to operate with a meta-code. Some of the common meta-code systems employed in advertising, for example, include fashion, high society, street smarts, science fiction or futurism, medicine, and high technology. As Banks and Coulter explained in a paper on images in fashion catalogs--- gender, with all of its historical, sexual,

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and social meanings, functions as a meta-meaning system that influences how fashion advertising is understood.[17] This meta-code is expressed functionally in aesthetic cues such as lighting, color, setting, composition, nonverbal cues such as facial expressions and body stance, and social cues indicating roles and active/passive or dominant/submissive relationships.

The concept of meta-code, which is similar in literature to the concept of genre, is important in understanding how people interpret the "1984" commercial which incorporates the meaning systems of science fiction, politics, and advertising with their distinctive codes and cueing processes. Viewers, in other words, have expectations about the commercial's meaning based on their familiarity with the form of advertising, their understanding of repressive political systems, and their familiarity with the forms of science fiction.

Research Questions

Given this analysis of semiotics and patterns of interpretation, the following research questions have emerged to guide this study.

-How well do the viewers of the "1984" commercial perceive the symbolic and metaphoric meanings?

-What are the visual cues that serve as stimuli to the development of symbolic and metaphoric meanings?

-Do various types of visual cues elicit different levels of meaning complexity?

-Are there meta-codes being used by the viewers other than the 1984 story and how are they being used to construct meaning?

Methodology

The idea behind this study is to investigate the viewers' responses to a set of open-ended questions about the symbolization and visual images in the commercial. The analysis will unpack the symbols and metaphors used by the viewers and analyze them in terms of the cueing process that gave rise to the meanings.

The viewers included 200 undergraduate students in introductory mass communication courses 1991 at two state universities located in the western U.S. While these students can not be seen as reflecting the composition of the Super Bowl audience that watched the initial showing of the commercial in 1984, they are similar to Apple's targeted audience in one critical aspect: they are likely to be interested in a personal computer and most of them probably have not purchased a computer yet. This state of interest is similar to the type of audience Apple hoped to reach in 1984 with its Super Bowl commercial. It is also expected that few of these students have seen or would remember seeing this commercial when it ran some seven years earlier. Less than five percent indicated at the time of the showing that they had seen the commercial.

After a preliminary introduction designed to set the commercial in the context in which it was first seen, students were asked to watch the commercial and then describe what the commercial meant. The response instrument contained a set of open-ended questions which sought to probe the types of meanings the viewers derived from the commercial. The instrument asked the students to explain the point or message intended by the makers of the commercial, cite the visuals that made an impression on them, and explain the symbolism they saw in the imagery.

A code sheet was developed based on a semiotic analysis of the primary elements of meaning intended by the creators--taken from interviews with Lee Clow, the agency creative director, and Ridley Scott, the director--as well as the meanings interpreted in two expert readings by Arthur Asa Berger and Linda

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Scott.[18] This codesheet was used to deconstruct and categorize the meanings and meaning clusters found in the viewer responses. This approach is basically qualitative although it uses content analysis methodology to bring structure to the compilation of the 200 responses. This is similar to the approach reported by Leiss, Line and Jhally which they described as a semiological/content analysis combining a sensitivity to layers and patterns of meaning with the more rigorous and systematic strategies of quantitative content analysis. [19]

Findings

The objective of this analysis is to unpack the viewer's perceptions of the various message elements in terms of their levels of complexity and then to identify the visual cues that elicited the various types and levels of meanings. There are a number of message elements that could be deconstructed---the inmates, their marching feet, the environment through which they marched, the woman runner, the hammer she carried, the police chasing her, the clothing the woman and inmates wore, the use of color, the Big Brother figure, Big Brother's ideological rhetoric, the telescreens, the meeting situation and environment, the explosion, and the product logo---however, this analysis will only look at those elements which seem to be the richest in symbolic and metaphoric meaning. Specifically, we will consider the **woman runner**, the **inmates**, the **Big Brother** figure, the **explosion** and the **environment.**

For each of the five elements, the discussion will center around the cues, i.e. references made to that element, and the method of analysis students used to decode the meaning of that element. Three methods of analysis and their operational definitions are presented below:

Category	*Instances where viewers see the element as:*
Literal (Iconic)	A representation of the actual entity but read with a *comment* or *description* about what the element is doing, can do will do, or may do; is action oriented.
Symbolic	Symbols which draw upon learned information from their subconscious to decode the message; one thing *stands for something else* by convention.
Metaphoric	Analogous to or representative of an abstract idea or emotion: points out similarities and commonalties between two things (includes similes).

The Woman Runner

The analysis will begin with the woman runner since she seemed to be the message element with the highest level of recall and the most variety of meanings. Identified by viewers as woman, lady, female, girl, figure and person, the woman runner was the most widely mentioned and most diversely referenced element of the commercial.

Literal interpretations included: she will free everyone, she breaks the monotony, she is the only women, and she is the opposite of men. Just over half of the respondents' references were in the forms of *symbols* such as: symbolizing freedom, mother figure giving birth to new technology, brave, innovative, hope for the future, individualizing of America, sex, and feminism. Approximately 40% of the students used *metaphors* such as: salvation, hope, savior, rebel, liberator, and Macintosh (the idea of Mac saving computer users from the competition).

Seven aspects of the woman figure were noted by viewers and these various elements functioned as visual cues signaling different interpretive structures. for example, the age cue, expressed literally as young and girl, elicited symbolic interpretations such as time to change the technology of today, the feminine revolution, and was also used as a metaphor for freedom.

When running (also noted as jogging) was used as the descriptor, metaphoric meanings included: Apple and/or Macintosh, freedom, destroyer, breaking the mold/ rules, new technology, lady with the torch, American Olympic athlete, and U.S. patriotism. Running was also viewed as symbolic of vigor, health, change, the Olympics, and revolution. Literal interpretations of the runner were: she wants to get out of the past, we are not sexist, and running to get ahead.

Viewers also used the running with hammer cue in conjunction with the woman. Literal references were to such concepts as weapon and ax. Most references contained freedom metaphors, metaphors for change, breaking the rules, Macintosh, and a bolt of lightening. Viewers thought the runner with hammer was symbolic of a rebellious heroine, rebellion, the last of the free thinkers and a leader of change.

Viewers included additional descriptive cues to reference the woman runner including color, clothing, fitness and hair cues. When the colors of red, white, and /or blue were used in conjunction with her clothing, viewers mentioned symbols of America, freedom, change and liberation. Although patriotic colors were not actually present, the red shorts and white shirt signaled nationalism to some viewers. Viewers thought 'bright' colors symbolized creativity, new ideas, contrast to a dull world, ingenuity, the end of conformity, and originality; bright colors were often metaphors for Apple and Macintosh.

Viewers who remembered the women in 'shorts' or 'tank top' gave literal descriptions like: a runner taking the lead and running to save the day; metaphoric references like signifying a breakthrough; and symbols of the modern woman of the 80s. "Athletic" (physical, fit, trim, strong, well-toned) references used in conjunction with the woman were predominantly metaphors for: Apple, change, independence, and leadership; and symbols of power and speed. The descriptor "blonde" was symbolic of freedom, individuality, breaking the mold and "a ray of hope for the brain dead."

Some students mentioned normative cues, acknowledging "being different" as symbols for progress or change. A few students saw meanings either relating to or reflecting sexism or sexist cues. Sexist comments were noted the discussions of bouncing breasts and skimpy clothing as being symbolic of Hooters waitresses or more literally as a production technique used to get the attention of males.

Several forms of *idiosyncratic decoding* (where the viewer's interpretation differs markedly from the commercial's intention) occur in references to sexism, described above, and when viewers cued the woman as a 'god' or godlike or mythical, a figure who symbolized a white knight or Thor. Students cueing on the woman also made contemporary references, seeing her as a symbol of the Yuppie generation, NOW generation, or the age of fitness. The Olympics was clearly a meta-code operating at various times in their interpretation of this figure as an American Olympic athlete. Along that line, as was noted in the previous discussions, many of the references indicated meta-codes of patriotism.

Other instances where students incorrectly decoded the clothing cue occurred when the runner was mistaken as an advertiser for Nike; apparently her shirt and shoes signaled recollections of a commercial that featured a similar text. Here, *meta-codes*, where viewer meanings were based on codes from other genre, resulted in incorrect references to commercials, sporting events, and sociological phenomena.

Inmates

On a more *literal* level these characters were identified by viewers as: soldiers, people, clones, men, zombies and droids. They were described as all the same and as people controlled by the computer, inexpressive, and commoners. Viewers saw them as *metaphors* for conformity in society, the dehumanization of people and monotony; they were *symbolic* of the human race, the business world before computers, and the sameness of today's boring world.

Six visual cues stood out in the viewers' notations and they are: sameness, shaved heads, clothing, expression, marching, and watching. Sameness was the most prominent cue, acting as metaphors for conformity, brainwashing, mechanization and other computers. Dull, drab, dead, and washed out contained the literal interpretations used by the viewers for this characteristic. Shaved heads (also described as bald) enhanced the conformity metaphor; they thought bald heads symbolized a loss of individuality and submission to control. Boring and monotonous were the most frequent literal interpretations made by viewers. Clothing, described most often as gray, baggy, or colorless and occasionally as uniforms, were referred to as symbols of lost identity and lack of individuality. Viewers saw clothing as metaphors for slavery, society and computer users. Literally, the clothing was boring and monotonous.

Expressions were noted at two points in the narrative: during the commercial's buildup to the explosion and after the explosion occurred. Pre-explosion expressions were described as gray, stone-faced, blank and mesmerized. Used as metaphors for vegetables, oppression, boredom and computers, these expressions gave way to incorrect literal interpretations of post-explosion shock and surprise. Only a few students correctly interpreted the reactive expression as symbolic of the powerlessness of the inmates, indicating perhaps that the expression cue did not communicate the intended meaning.

The marching cue was understood literally and expressed in the term 'single file' by most viewers. The conformity metaphor prevailed here; others saw marching as a metaphor for old computers and the old world, an interesting reversal of the time concept for a futuristic commercial setting. Marching elicited military symbolism from some viewers; others had a literal understanding that marchers were headed for the same place at the same time. Viewers thought the watching cue was symbolic of technology's trance, and being programmed and catatonic. The watching behavior also cued a negative reference to media control and the domination of television in contemporary life, a continuing reference that also showed up in references to the screen and Big Brother's screen image. These references suggest a functioning meta-code focused on the negative imagery or criticism of television in society.

Evidence of aberrant decodings through reference to other meta-codes was also present. Historical references were the predominant meta-codes read from cues about inmates. Some viewers saw them as metaphors for death camps and concentration camps; others saw the marchers as goosesteppers who symbolized Nazi military imagery. Another aberrant decoding placed inmates in the future as a "huge mass that supports the good for all in the Ayn Rand sense."

Big Brother

The Big Brother cue was described *literally* as leader, old man, and talking head by viewers. Others saw him as a *metaphor* for a dictator, controller, ruler, and IBM. To some he was *symbolic* of the giant, unfriendly computer company, and of conservatism--i.e. the idea that computers should remain as they are. When this cue was associated with the telescreen cue (TV, monitor), readers found these additional metaphors: government, god and a higher order; and these additional symbolic meanings: "we will respond to a mere TV screen," old versus new, and leader misguidance. The talking cue (barking orders, sermonizing) as a cue elicited predominantly dictator metaphors. A historical meta-code--expressed in references to hate meetings and Hitler imagery--was also applied to these message elements.

Explosion

The event of the hammer exploding the screen produced some interesting meanings that were dependent upon how the viewer read the activity. For instance, when the sledgehammer cue was the referent, viewers described metaphors for change and breaking away. They also felt it symbolized the end of communism and conformity. The throwing cue symbolized Macintosh "blowing away" the competition and the introduction of individualism. And when the breaking/smashing cues were cited, viewers saw symbols of a new way of doing things, freeing captives, Mac's victory; the act signifying that Mac broke the mold. The flash of light cue and explosion cue were visual signals that generated change metaphors and signified good triumphant against evil. To some, the flash of light symbolized a religious experience.

Environment

Elements of the environment cued a variety of readings from viewers. Some saw the tunnel cue as a metaphor for tunnel vision; others saw dark hallways, gray settings, and steel/concrete as metaphors for oppression, dullness, and future technology. Others thought that a glass bridge and a grated floor were symbolic of a fish-bowl existence and unsafe surroundings.

Conclusions

Viewers of the "1984" commercial were accurately perceptive in most of their symbolic and metaphoric interpretations. The female runner received the most meaning attributions in the commercial; color cues received the most significant attention from viewers. As an oppositional element (female vs. male, color vs. black and white, free vs. controlled), the female elicited the largest variety of meanings. The runner was understood and aberrantly decoded in almost as many ways as there were viewers. These decodings may be indicative of the perpetuation of mainstream values and beliefs held by the student viewers in this study.

As pointed out by Goffman,[20] gender plays a role in cueing. In this commercial, cultural gender roles are reversed; the woman rescues helpless men from a tyrannical ruler. She is the savior, the hero. In his study of advertising codes, Jhally[21] found that 'feminine' and 'masculine' are prototypes of essential expression which can be used effectively when roles are juxtaposed. In "1984," the advertiser generated awareness by invoking the gender juxtaposition. And yet coding was not consistent between genders. While gender was not a variable for this study, it should be noted that female respondents tended to reference the runner in feminist terms, while male respondents were more likely to reference a sex object, suggesting that some code alternation may be necessary to decrease aberrant decoding for a gendered cue.

Meta-codes were manifested as an awareness of commercial "adspeak", war crimes, Olympic games, feminism/sexism, and religion. Adherence to the science fictional story line was much more evident than reception of the competitive message Apple designed for its viewers. Although readers made connections to IBM and unfriendly technology from visual cues less frequently than they made connections to the 1984 story, they were able to generalize most of the fictional elements to the product or its logo, and most of them understood that the story was a metaphor for a new product introduction.

This study found, as suggested by Lutz,[22] that visual analogies and metaphors help viewers to relate new information to familiar information and therefore helps them learn about the product. According to Alesandrini and Shiekh,[23] the use of visual analogies in advertising is common, but no one has tested the effectiveness of this strategy in advertising context. This success of the commercial "1984," which is itself a visual analogy of computer transformation from drudgery to simplicity, may be an indication of the level of effectiveness gained from the use of visual analogies, even highly complex analogies.

This text also supported a finding by Fiske and Maddi[24] that visual incongruities, typical of those found in "1984," act as novelty to cause responsiveness and greater interest by viewers. The incongruities that frequently result from the use of visual metaphors of the type found here were shown to have relevance for advertising effectiveness.

Viewer responses in this study reflected a preponderance of connotative meanings, which might serve as a warning to advertisers. Because of the culture in which a commercial is seen and understood, visuals can be aberrantly decoded or simply misunderstood, sabotaging the intended sales message and ultimately rendering the commercial useless. Here, sender and receiver were separated by time, making some aberrant decoding inevitable and producing some interesting results. The events and advertisements produced between 1984 (commercial airing) and 1991 (viewer readings) made it impossible for viewers to cue on prisoners without recalling the downfall of communism, or to cue on a woman in running shorts without referencing Nike commercials.

This reading is indicative of the post-modern condition which exists for all viewers of advertising commercials. Philosopher Jean Baudrillard[25] makes a case for viewer confusion and ultimate frustration with the plethora of visual messages and cues directed at them by the media. Captives of media "hyperreality," television advertising audiences bring a myriad of intertextual references to each viewing experience. This study illustrates that, due to the barrage of simultaneous commercial on television, it is almost impossible for advertisers to control for unintended intrusions into the intended message.

This study can be generalized to the genre of television advertising by validating the notion that cues act as cultural codes and can be misinterpreted by audiences if not tested and controlled. Here, codes of gender, fashion, and color had the greatest level of connotation, thereby providing the best opportunity for control and development by advertisers. Cueing oppositions, (color against black/white and male against female) also proved to be significant for enhancing the opportunity for viewer interpretation.

The study also points out that advertisers who seek to reduce the connotative variations must analyze messages in terms of their similarities and differences from other commercials. Producing "1984" for today's audience would necessitate an alteration of several cues that are now coded by viewers with meanings from other advertisements and news events. It also suggests that cultural codes are audience segment-specific, and that message effectiveness is dependent upon user-centered cues that draw upon the shared experiences, perceptions, and attitudes of the audience segment.

Limitations

As other researchers who have studied the problem of imagery have noted,[26] verbal translations of mental imagery are always problematic. This is a problem to the degree that the viewers faced semantic limitations on their ability to conceptualize their interpretations. While this study didn't address this question, it is clear that some viewers are more responsive than others however it is thought that this range of verbal responsiveness is well distributed given the size of the sample.

The study makes no claim to capturing the entirety of the viewer's meanings; their interpretations were written rather than verbal, and their ideas were recalled out of the context of the original setting. However, the study does contribute to our understanding of how visual cues and signals develop meaning for viewers of television commercials and can lead them occasionally into aberrant or idiosyncratic interpretations. This is especially significant for advertisers because effective message delivery is completely dependent upon message accuracy.

This study highlights the need for more research on cueing in commercials which draw from codes which are culturally dependent (such as the avant-guarde spot for British Airways that uses Man Ray lips to send its message to viewers). With the increasing importance of visual communication, further studies into cueing as a technique for meaning development are needed to decrease aberrant decoding and increase accurate message delivery. The findings of this study are a beginning in that area, and have value for producers of television commercials as well as students of visual imagery.

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The Advertising Content of African-American Newspapers

by

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African-American newspapers struggled for survival during the 1980s.[1] By the end of the decade, an article in The Wall Street Journal reported huge drops in circulation for many African-American newspapers. The New York Amsterdam News saw its circulation go from 81,200 in 1980 to 31,584 in 1990, while the Michigan Chronicle in Detroit had a circulation decline from 41,712 to 24,516.[2]

This continuing struggle is a result of many factors. Some critics say the African-American press has lost its relevance to many of its readers;[3] others argue that television has had a negative impact.[4] Whatever the reasons, the business reality is one of declining revenues and rising production costs.

Lack of advertising support is the biggest contributing factor to declining revenue.[5] However, advertising content in the African-American press has received little systematic analysis. The purpose of this exploratory study is to better understand the extent and nature of advertising in African-American newspapers through the use of content analysis.

Background

Advertising linage lies at the heart of the African-American press´ struggle to survive. A 1989 survey of 56 managers at African-American newspapers asked which factors contributed most to the failure of African-American newspapers.[6] Lack of advertising support was by far the most important. It was followed by insufficient capital and increasing cost of editorial personnel. Lack of reader support ranked fifth of eight factors.

The concern among managers about too little advertising linage is echoed in many of the magazine and newspaper articles about the future of the African-American press.[7] Wolseley credits the lack of advertising support to the attitudes of white advertisers.[8] Reasons given by white advertisers for not buying advertisements include: African-Americans can be reached through the white media; African-American newspaper circulation is too low; advertising budgets are too small; and the advertiser is not interested in reaching this particular market.

Missing from this literature is a measure of the general level and nature of advertising in African-American newspapers. Such a measure would be useful in establishing a baseline for the long-term study of this sector of the newspaper industry, and it might give some insight into problems facing these newspapers. This exploratory study describes the extent and nature of advertising in African-American newspapers by answering the following research questions:

1. What types and amount of advertisements are being published in African-American newspapers?

2. Do the types and amounts of advertising published in African-American newspapers vary with circulation size?

3. How does the distribution of space among types of advertising in African-American newspapers compare the distribution in white-oriented weekly newspapers?

Method

Checks and subscription requests for the month of May 1989 were mailed in March 1989 to the 168 African-American newspapers listed in the 1989 Editor and Publisher International Year Book.[9] Although some issues were received from 95 newspapers, complete issues for the month of May arrived from only 75 newspapers. Because of limited resources, 35 newspapers were randomly selected from the 75. Of these, 34 were weeklies and one was a twice-weekly newspaper. Two weeks from May were randomly selected, and all issues from those weeks were analyzed. This meant two issues for the weeklies and four for the twice-weekly newspaper were used. The 35 newspapers in the sample represented about 21 percent of the African-American newspapers listed in the Editor & Publisher International Year Book and yielded 72 issues for analysis.[10]

Coding categories were developed based on generally accepted types of advertisements. The four main categories of advertisements were display, legal, inserts and classified. Display ads were defined as ads that appeared in the news/editorial sections of the paper and that involved some form of design element, even if the design was primarily with words. These ads were placed into 14 mutually exclusive categories.[11]

Legal ads were those bought by a government body to announce an official action. Insert advertisements were freestanding advertising supplements inserted into the newspaper. Classified advertisements were those that ran in sections identified as classified sections. Two types of classified ad categories were used: display classifieds, which had some design elements and/or larger type; and regular classified ads, which were composed exclusively of words and usually printed in a type size that was smaller than type used for news content and display classified.

All ads in the newspapers were counted and measured in square inches. Square inches were used instead of column inches because the width of columns varied among the newspapers. In addition to the type of ad, the advertisements were categorized as to whether they were from group-owned businesses. A group-owned business was one that had more than one outlet mentioned in the advertisement or was a national business, such as Sears, K-Mart, etc., that has multiple outlets. This measure was of interest because group-owned businesses tend to have larger advertising budgets than do independent businesses and are more lucrative ad accounts for newspapers.

The total newspaper space was measured as a base figure for comparing newspapers in different circulation categories. The percentage of total space given various categories of advertisements was used for comparisons. Total space was measured by figuring the square inches of printed material on an inside page and multiplying by the number of pages in the issue. The resulting figure included white space, but the figure was a reliable one for comparing space distribution because it was used for all newspapers.

All coding was conducted by one coder. Before coding began, the reliability of the coding instrument was checked. Randomly selected issues of newspapers not included in the sample were used for four coding checks by the two authors, each check covered one issue. Adjustments were made in some troublesome definitions following the first two checks. The last two checks resulted in simple agreement of 84 percent and 90 percent, respectively, which are acceptable levels of reliability.[12]

The resulting data about advertising content was compared for small, medium and large African-American newspapers. Small newspapers were those with less than 11,000 circulation; medium papers were those with circulations between 11,001 and 30,000; and large papers were those with circulations greater than 30,000. While these categories are somewhat arbitrary, they were selected because they divided the sample into thirds while keeping the median circulation (18,250) and the mean circulation (27,296) within the middle group.[13]

T-tests were used to determine if the differences between groups were due to sampling error, or if the differences were likely to exist in the population of African-American newspapers that mailed all copies for May 1989. The $p < .05$ level was used to establish statistical significance.

In addition to comparisons among various sizes of newspapers, the advertising content of the African-American newspapers was compared with that of white-oriented weeklies. These data came from the Inland Press Association's National Cost and Revenue Study of Weekly Newspapers for 1989.[14] The data taken from this report came from survey responses about yearly inches of advertising in four advertising categories: local, national, classified and legal. Seventy-five weeklies from the survey with circulation between 1,345 and 122,073 were used for this comparison. The 75 weeklies included 39 that were independently owned and 35 that were owned by newspaper groups. The total inches for all newspapers were added for the four categories and then the proportions of all ad inches were determined for each category.

Results

The first research question, which asked about the types of advertising in African-American newspapers, is answered by data in Table 1. The 72 issues averaged 36.6 separate advertisements, which occupied 1,671 square inches. Only 66 square inches were public service and house ads. Total advertising space averaged about 32 percent of all the space in the newspapers.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The largest number of ads fell into the category of local non-retail ads. These were primarily for service businesses, such as banks, hair salons and radio stations. The 72 issues averaged about 13 of these ads and 352 square inches per issue, which accounted for 21.1 percent of advertising space.

No other category of advertising averaged more than six ads per issue. Religious advertisements averaged 5.9. Other local retail, which included all retail stores except food and department stores, averaged 5.1 ads per issue. However, religious advertisements accounted for only 3.7 percent of ad space, and other local retail accounted for 9.3 percent of ad space.

Even though the papers averaged only 1.5 local grocery store advertisements per issue, the space devoted to these ads occupied more than 15 percent of total ad space. The newspapers averaged only 1.6 national liquor and tobacco ads per issue, which occupied an average of 167 square inches, or about 10 percent of all ad space. Interestingly, these ads tended to be advertisements with pro-education and anti-drug messages, rather than straight forward appeals to sell cigarettes and alcohol.

Another noteworthy finding was that all classified advertising space accounted for only 157 square inches on average, or 9.4 percent of the total ad space. This was less than the space that went to national alcohol and tobacco ads.

One other category that was notable for its relatively small size was local department store advertisements. These types of ads usually generate extensive revenue for dailies, but the African-American newspapers averaged fewer than one ad and 109 square inches per issue.

The second research question asked if the types and amounts of advertisements varied with circulation size. Tables 2, 3 and 4 present a breakdown of advertisements for small-, medium- and large-circulation newspapers. Table 2 contains numbers of ads; Table 3 has square inches of advertising; and Table 4 contains percentages of all advertising space given the various types of ads.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Table 2 shows that the largest average for number of display ads was found in medium-circulation newspapers. These newspapers averaged 46.13 ads per issue, compared to 29.58 for small-circulation and 28.54 for large-circulation papers. The differences between small and medium and medium and large newspapers were statistically significant.

The average number of group-owned business ads was about 2.3 in small papers, compared to 3.56 in medium and 3.5 in large. The difference between small and medium newspapers probably existed in the population, but the difference between small and large newspapers was probably due to sampling error.

Despite a large difference in overall number of ads, medium-sized newspapers averaged significantly larger numbers of advertisements than smaller newspapers in only one category: house ads. The overall significant difference was a result of cumulative differences in 12 out of 15 categories of ads.

Such was not the case for the comparison between medium- and large-circulation newspapers. The large newspapers had significantly fewer ads in five of the 15 categories in Table 2. Large-circulation newspapers averaged almost 10 fewer ads in both the local non-retail and the religious categories. The large-circulation newspapers also had fewer other local retail, local real estate and house ads than did the medium-circulation newspapers.

Table 3 compares the square inches of advertising for the three sizes of newspapers. The medium-circulation newspapers averaged 2,219 square inches of advertising, compared to 1,574 for the large papers and 1,230 for the small papers. The difference between small and medium papers was statistically significant, but the difference between medium and large newspapers could have been due to sampling error.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The differences in advertising space led to differences in total newspaper space. The medium newspapers averaged 8,090 square inches of total space, while the large papers had 4,210 square inches and the small papers had 3,500 square inches. The differences between small and medium and large and medium newspapers were both statistically significant.

Table 4 presents comparisons among large-, medium- and small-circulation papers for the percentage of advertising space given various categories of advertising. While several differences were found, most were not statistically significant. The most notable difference was that large-circulation newspapers had 11.1 percent of their advertising space from local department stores, which was almost twice the percentage in medium-circulation papers, even though the average number of department store ads was almost equal for large- and medium-circulation newspapers. This finding results from large newspapers having more square inches of department store advertisements but fewer overall square inches of ads than medium-circulation newspapers.

INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

In addition, small-circulation papers had a higher percentage of advertising space given religious ads than did medium newspapers. Large-circulation newspapers had a higher percentages of advertising space given to legal ads than did the medium-circulation newspapers.

The third research question asked how African-American newspapers compared to white-oriented newspapers in types of advertising carried. Table 5 compares the results of this study with data taken from the Inland Press Association Weekly Newspaper Report for 1989. The table shows percentages of space devoted to four categories: local, national, classified and legal. National ads in the African-American newspapers included every ad that was not legal, not classified or did not advertise a product or service sold in the local market. House and public service ads were excluded from the base figure.

The Inland weekly newspapers devoted 68 percent of their ad space to local advertising, compared to 59 percent for the African-American newspapers. The percentage given national advertising was 23 percent in African-American and 5 percent in the Inland papers. Considering the figures in the previous tables, the high percentage for national ads in African-American newspapers probably reflects the smaller amount of local advertising space compared to the local advertising linage in white-oriented weeklies.

INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

The African-American newspapers devoted 10 percent of ad space to classifieds, compared to 22 percent for Inland weeklies. Space given legal ads was about 8 percent for the African-American papers and 5 percent for the Inland newspapers. As with national ads, the higher percentage for African-American newspapers probably represents the lower levels of local advertising compared to the Inland weeklies.

Discussion

The reasons behind the concerns of African-American newspaper managers about advertising support are clear in this content analysis. Only 32 percent of the space in these 72 newspapers was advertising. The Inland Press Association data showed an average of 56 percent of newspaper space devoted to advertising for the 75 weekly newspapers in the survey with less than 122,073 circulation. The comparison of Inland and African-American newspapers in Table 5 shows that African-American weeklies received disproportionately less advertising linage from local advertisers and disproportionately more from national advertising, the bulk of which came from tobacco and alcohol companies.

Perhaps the biggest advertising problem for African-American newspapers was the small amount of advertising from the various forms of local retail and classified ads. These six categories averaged only 692 square inches a week, which amounts to about two-and-a-half pages. This type of advertising traditionally has been the mainstay of newspapers' revenues,[15] but it is also attractive as information for readers. As Bogart said, "A paper with comparatively little advertising seems to be perceived by readers as having less value than one that is crammed with ads."[16]

The crisis in local ad support was compounded by the lack of advertising from group-owned businesses. These businesses tend to purchase large advertisements because they advertise multiple locations with one ad. Large ads generally means greater revenue and profit.

The most surprising result was the comparative lack of advertising in the large-circulation newspapers. An examination of the Inland Press Association data for weeklies reveals that circulation size was related to amount of advertising. As circulation increased, so did advertising space. This trend held true for the small- and medium-circulation African-American newspapers, but the 11 papers with circulation greater than 30,000 had fewer ads and less advertising linage than did the medium-circulation newspapers.

The reasons behind this surprising result are beyond the scope of this study, but an examination of data from 1989 Editor & Publisher International Year Book showed that large-circulation African-American newspapers were no more likely to face competition from other African-American newspapers than were medium-circulation papers. While competition among African-American newspapers did not explain the difference between medium and large circulation papers advertising space, perhaps the fact that large-circulation newspapers tended to be located in larger markets with more media outlets in general might contribute to the lack of advertising support. Another possible explanation is that the biases of white business people toward African-Americans and their media, which was mentioned by Wolseley,[17] might be greater in large metropolitan areas than in smaller cities.

Whatever the reason, the impact of reduced advertising in large-circulation newspapers could be seen in the significantly smaller newsholes. The medium-circulation newspapers averaged 5,871 square inches of space that was not devoted to advertising, while large-circulation newspapers averaged 2,636 square inches of space not devoted to advertising. The lack of advertising support at large-circulation dailies translated into considerably less news content.

The results of this study are consistent with the few magazine and newspaper articles about advertising in African-American newspapers. Survival of these newspapers is threatened by the lack of support from local advertisers. This situation appears worse in cities where the newspapers serve larger numbers of people. Because of the lower advertising support, the newsholes were smaller in these papers. Because the newsholes were smaller, one can expect the decline in readership at large newspapers to continue. The implications are that some of the newspapers currently serving large communities may be closing in the near future. Such closings could considerably weaken the voice of African-Americans in the marketplace of ideas.

This study is limited by the number of newspapers that were studied, but there is no reason to believe the African-American newspapers not selected for this study would differ greatly from the ones that were studied. The lack of advertising support for large-circulation newspapers deserves additional study and would have business applications as the African-American press continues to struggle for survival.

Endnotes

1. Chester Higgins, Sr., "Is the Black Press Dying?" The Crisis, August/September 1980, pp. 240-41.

2. John Wagner, "Black Papers Are Fighting for Survival," The Wall Street Journal, Oct. 10, 1990, pp. 1b, 8b.

3. Higgins, op. cit.

4. Courtland Milloy, "The Black Press: A Victim of Its Own Crusade," Washington Journalism Review, June 1984, pp. 50-53; Phyl Garland, "Beyond a Black Readership: Expanding the Role of the Urban Black Newspaper," Perspectives, Fall 1982, pp. 45-48.

5. Roland E. Wolseley, The Black Press, 2nd. ed. (Ames, IA: Iowa State Press, 1990); Wagner, op. cit.

6. Stephen Lacy, James M. Stephens and Stan Soffin, "The Future of the African-American Press: A Survey of African-American Newspaper Managers," Newspaper Research Journal, Summer 1991, pp. 8-19.

7. Dennis C. Schatzman, "How the black press gets slighted," Editor & Publisher, Dec. 8, 1990, pp. 46, 56; Milloy op. cit.; Garland, op. cit.; and Wagner, op. cit.

8. Wolseley, op. cit., p. 338.

9. 1989 Editor & Publisher International Year Book, (New York: Editor & Publisher, 1989).

10. The use of May was a matter of convenience because it was the first full month after financing was received for which subscriptions could be obtained. May also was convenient because it does not contain a major holiday, which was defined as those that bring out extraordinary amounts of advertising, such as July 4th, Easter, Thanksgiving and Christmas. These major holidays

might give a distorted image of normal advertising levels. The selection of 35 newspapers was based on the amount of time available for the content analysis. Both of these decisions, and the failure to receive copies of all African-American newspapers from the population, limit the generalizability of this study. However, there is no indication that the newspapers used here were exceptional. The dearth of research about the advertising content of African-American newspapers justifies the use of such a sample for exploration purposes.

11. Advertising categories were based one of the author´s experience working as an editor of weekly newspapers and on two books about newspaper management, Conrad C. Fink, Strategic Newspaper Management, (New York: Random House, 1988) and Jim Willis, Surviving in the Newspaper Business, (New York: Praeger, 1988). The categories started with four main types of advertisements: display, insert, legal and classified. Classifieds were divided further into display and regular classifieds. Display was divided further into local and national. Local was divided into grocery store, department store, other retail, real estate, and non-retail. National ads included automobile, tobacco and liquor, and other national ads. After examining copies of African-American newspapers, three types of ads that seemed to warrant categories were religious ads, which were primarily for churches, government ads that were not legal advertising, such as lottery ads, and elections ads. House ads, which are self-promotion ads, and public advertising categories were also used to distinguish ads that generated no revenue.

More detailed coding definitions are available from the authors.

12. Simple agreement was determine by dividing the number of agreements between the two coders by the total number of coding decisions.

13. A possible complicating variable for comparing newspapers by circulation size is day of publication. It may be that the day of the week on which a newspaper is published and distributed would affect its attractiveness as an advertising vehicle. In general, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are attractive advertising days because they are right before the weekend, which is when people tend to shop and spend money for entertainment. A newspaper published on other days might be less attractive because it is not right before the weekend. The days of publication were checked for the three circulation groups. Of the 12 small-circulation newspapers eight were published on either Wednesday, Thursday or Friday, while seven of the 12 medium-circulation paper were published on these three days. Of the large-circulation newspapers, eight of 11 were published on Wednesday, Thursday or Friday. The differences among groups were no great enough to suggest influence by day of publication.

14. National Cost and Revenue Study of Weekly Newspapers for 1989 (Park Ridge, IL: Inland Press Association, 1990).

15. Jon G. Udell, The Economics of the American Newspaper (New York: Hasting House, 1979), pp. 111-116.

16. Leo Bogart, Press and Public, 2nd. ed. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, 1989), p. 51.

17. Wolseley, op. cit.

TABLE 1

Average Frequency, Size and Proportion of Advertisement Types Found in African-American Newspapers

Types of ads	No. of ads	sq. in. of ads	% of total sq. in.
Local grocery store	1.5	256	15.4
Local dept. store	.8	109	6.5
Other local retail	5.1	156	9.3
Local real estate	.7	18	1.1
Local non-retail	13.1	352	21.1
House	2.6	52	3.1
Public service	.8	14	.8
National tobacco & liquor	1.6	167	10.0
National car	.2	23	1.4
National other	1.3	75	4.5
Election	.2	5	0.3
Religious	5.9	62	3.7
Other	1.6	24	1.4
Government	.7	37	2.2
Legal	N/A	132	7.9
Inserts	.5	32	1.9
Display classified	N/A	95	5.7
Regular classified	N/A	62	3.7
TOTAL	36.6	1,671	100.0

N = 72 issues of 35 newspapers

TABLE 2

Average Number of Advertisements in Small, Medium and Large African-American Newspapers

Types of ads	Small	Medium	Large
Local grocery	1.29	1.96	1.13
Local dept. store	0.54	0.96	0.92
Other local retail	6.04[b]	6.58[c]	2.79
Local real estate	0.50	1.04[c]	0.42
Local non-retail	12.42	18.46[c]	8.54
House	2.17[a]	3.75[c]	2.00
Public service	0.92	0.67	0.75
National tobacco & liquor	1.63	1.92	1.21
National car	0.13	0.17	0.17
National other	1.00	1.63	1.17
Election	0.08	0.08	0.38
Religious	3.83	12.00[c]	1.96
Other	1.21	2.00	1.58
Government	0.54	0.83	0.79
Inserts	1.17	0.21	0.00
Total number of display ads	29.58[a]	46.13[c]	28.54
Number of group store ads	2.29[a]	3.56	3.50

Note: Newspaper circulation sizes were: small, less than 11,000; medium, between 11,001 and 30,000; and large, greater than 30,000.

[a] The difference between the small and medium newspapers was significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[b] The difference between the small and large newspapers was significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[c] The difference between the medium and large newspapers was significant at the $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 3

Average Square Inches of Advertisements in Small, Medium and Large African-American Newspapers

Types of ads	Small	Medium	Large
Local grocery	108	432	227
Local dept. store	64[b]	114	151
Other local retail	112	196	160
Local real estate	17	28	9
Local non-retail	319	416	322
House	41[a]	84[c]	31
Public service	17	15	12
Tobacco & liquor	166	208	126
National car	15	29	25
National other	45	104	76
Election	1	3	10
Religious	51	88	48
Other	9[b]	33	31
Government	20	47	45
Legal	89	124	185
Inserts	36	63	000
Display classified	95	115	74
Regular classified	25	120	42
Total advertising	1,230[a]	2,219	1,574
Space in newspaper	3,500[a]	8,090[c]	4,210

[a] The difference between small and medium newspapers is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[b] The difference between small and large newspapers is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[c] The difference between medium and large newspapers is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 4

Percent of Square Inches of Advertisements by Category in Small, Medium and Large African-American Newspapers

Types of ads	Small	Medium	Large
Local grocery	8.4	12.4	7.6
Local dept. store	4.7[b]	5.8[c]	11.1
Other local retail	9.2	8.4	8.2
Local real estate	1.1	2.6	1.0
Local non-retail	26.2	25.7	20.4
House	4.7	5.8	3.2
Public service	1.4	0.8	1.4
National tobacco & liquor	13.1	11.8	10.1
National car	1.6	1.8	1.4
National other	3.8	4.1	6.6
Election	0.1	0.4	1.0
Religious	3.3[a]	2.0	2.5
Other	0.8	1.4	2.1
Government	2.2	3.2	4.0
Legal	5.5	4.4[c]	10.0
Inserts	6.7	1.7	0.0
Display classified	5.3	3.5	6.9
Regular classified	1.9	4.2	2.5

[a] The difference between the small and medium newspapers is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[b] The differences between the small and large newspapers is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

[c] The difference between the medium and large newspapers is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Types of Advertisement in Inland Press Association and African-American Non-daily Newspapers

	African-American	Inland Newspapers*
Local	59%	68%
National	23	5
Classified	10	22
Legal	8	5
Total	100	100

* The Inland data represents a survey of 75 weeklies with circulation ranging from 1,345 to 122,023.

An Advertising Processing Model: An Empirical Investigation of the Decomposability of Attitude toward the ad and Attitude toward the Brand

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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the causal influence of attitude toward the ad (Aad) and attitude toward the brand (Ab) on purchase intentions under different conditions involving a new ad for a hypothetical brand. A primary purpose of the study was to examine the usefulness of decomposing Aad into the claim and nonclaim components and decomposing Ab into the hedonic and utilitarian components. The decomposition helps us better understand the nature of the influence of Aad and Ab on purchase intentions across involvement conditions. The analysis indicates that the Aad -> Ab relationship should not be regarded as a result of only peripheral persuasion as the Elaboration Likelihood Model contended. Then the role of Aad in the persuasion process may be even more important than previously believed to be. Despite several inconsistencies in the detail, the model generally appears to be promising in its potential as a diagnostic tool to measure the effectiveness of an ad.

INTRODUCTION

Traditional models of attitude change and consumer behavior emphasized the role of cognition, and these models generally assumed that consumers make reasoned and rational decisions. Much research on advertising effectiveness, accordingly, has focused on measuring cognitive variables such as recall of ad content, brand attribute ratings, and importance weights of the attributes (MacKenzie & Lutz, 1989). In recent years, however, researchers have begun to place more emphasis on the study of consumers' affective responses to advertising stimuli (*cf.*, Peterson, Hoyer, & Wilson, 1986).

As a specific form of affective response to advertising, the construct of attitude toward the ad (Aad) has been extensively investigated as a mediator of advertising's effects on brand attitudes. Interest in the Aad construct was kindled after Mitchell and Olson (1981) empirically demonstrated that not only the cognitive-based brand attribute beliefs but also Aad influenced attitude toward the brand (Ab). Many researchers subsequently found a strong positive relationship between Aad and Ab (Burton & Lichtenstein, 1988; Gresham & Shimp, 1985; Machleit & Wilson, 1988; Mitchell, 1986a; Park & Young, 1986).

Several theories have been proposed as to the relationship between Aad and Ab, but it still requires further study. Based on the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981, 1986), most researchers (Homer, 1990; MacKenzie & Lutz, 1989; MacKenzie, Lutz, & Belch, 1986; Yoon, 1992) so far viewed Aad to be formed as a result of peripheral-based persuasion. Contrary to the ELM predictions, however, several studies (Homer, 1990; Yoon, 1992) found the influence of Aad on Ab to be stronger in high involvement condition than in low involvement condition, thus raising questions about whether Aad represents peripheral persuasion. A recent study (Miniard, Bhatla, & Rose, 1990) offered some evidence that the traditional operationalization of Aad as solely representing peripheral-based persuasion may be wrong. By decomposing Aad into the claim and nonclaim components, this study tested the hypothesis that Aad represents both central and peripheral persuasion.

The purpose of this study is to test an expanded model of advertising response developed from Miniard *et al.*'s model. The relationship between Aad and Ab is further specified by decomposing Ab into the utilitarian and hedonic components.

Causal Relationships among Aad, Ab, and PI

MacKenzie et al. (1986) used Petty and Cacioppo's ELM (1981, 1986) to explain the causal relationships among Aad, Ab, and PI. The ELM posits that attitude change can occur through two different routes. The first one, called the central route, is activated when attitude change occurs through thinking about and elaborating on the issue or argument under consideration. The second route, termed peripheral, is taken when persuasion and attitude change occurs from non-issue-relevant, peripheral persuasion cues. Likability of an ad due to its executional aspects is an example of this phenomenon.

MacKenzie, Lutz, and Belch (1986) summarized and tested four alternative causal models hypothesizing the theoretical causal links among cognitive responses to an advertisement (Cad) and the advertised brand (Cb), attitude toward the ad, and purchase intention (PI). Among the four models presented in Figure 1, the dual mediation hypothesis (DMH) best explained the relationship among the above mentioned variables. As expected, Aad exerted a strong positive influence on Ab. They also found that Aad exerted moderate positive influence on Cb. They noted that by the inclusion of the Aad --> Cb link, this model departs from the ELM. The ELM model posits that attitude change occurs either through Cb --> Ab route (central) or through Aad --> Ab route (peripheral) depending on the message recipient's motivation, ability, and opportunity to process the message. Thus, they argued that the DMH presents an alternative to the ELM model in that central and peripheral processes are intertwined rather than substitutes for one another.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Homer (1990) extended the MacKenzie *et al.* (1986) study by incorporating the effects of involvement on the path specifications. For the involvement level manipulation, Gardner, Michell, and Russo's (1985) concept of brand versus nonbrand processing was employed. In this conceptualization, the high processing involvement (brand processing) conditions would produce stronger causal flows from Cb to Ab than the low (nonbrand) processing conditions. Consistent with the MacKenzie *et al.* study, the results showed that the dual mediation hypothesis model provided the best fit of the data. Contrary to expectations, however, involvement levels did not produce significant differences in the path specifications.

Yoon (1992) pointed out several limitations of the work by MacKenzie *et al.* (1986) and Homer (1990) and conducted an experiment closely replicating the previous studies. First, each study used a commercial for a new brand of a relatively low involvement product (toothpaste and shampoo, respectively) as experimental stimuli. It has been widely supported that message processing may occur through either the central or peripheral route depending on the message recipient's level of involvement (Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983; Batra & Ray, 1983). Thus, the subjects' motivation to process the message in the two studies might have been extremely low due to the relatively unimportant product class. Second, Homer found that differences in processing involvement did not produce significant differences in the path specifications among the variables, especially in the Cb -> Ab link. This result is inconsistent with previous research findings (Batra, 1985). Homer's (1990) failure to find significant differences between the high and low involvement groups in terms of the strength of the Cb -> Ab link might have stemmed from the weak manipulation of the message processing conditions.

In Yoon's study (1992) a television commercial for a relatively high involvement product class (automobile tire) was used as the stimulus. Subjects' involvement was manipulated by using a similar set of instructions reported in Park and Young (1986). The path analysis results showed that the Affect Transfer Hypothesis provided the best fit of the data instead of the Dual Mediation Hypothesis. However, the path coefficient between Cb and Ab was not statistically significant ($z=.398$, $p>.05$) for the high involvement condition (.36, $p<.01$) and the low involvement (.29, p=.03). Contrary to the ELM and Aad research stream which posits Aad as representing the peripheral route, no significant difference (z=.388, p>.05) was found in the Aad -> Ab link between the high involvement and the low involvement conditions. This result is consistent with several previous studies (Gardner, 1985; Homer, 1990; MacKenzie *et al.*, 1986).

A possible answer to the puzzling link between Aad and Ab was offered by Miniard et al. (1990). They claimed that Aad should be decomposed to represent both central and peripheral persuasion (*cf.*, Shimp, 1981; Lutz, 1985). The central component represents a cognitive evaluation of the ad based on its attribute assertions. The peripheral component, on the other hand, represents various affective responses to the peripheral cues in the ad such as attractiveness of the picture. Thus, they contended that, since most advertisements contain both claim and non-claim elements, Aad can influence Ab under both low and high involvement situations.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Miniard *et al.*'s (1990) revised dual mediation model is presented in Figure 2. Consistent with the ELM predictions, the influences of all the cognitive responses (non-claim, claim, and brand cognitions) on the relevant attitudes (Aad-nc, Aad-c, and Ab) were stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement one. The results showed that subjects in the high involvement condition based their Ab on the ad claims, while low involvement subjects' Ab was derived from peripheral cues. Aad was influenced by both the claim and picture manipulation under high involvement conditions. Aad of the subjects in the low involvement condition, however, was only influenced by picture manipulation. For subjects reporting high involvement, only the Aad-c affected Ab. In contrast, for subjects reporting low involvement, their Ab was affected by both Aad-c and Aad-nc. The authors, thus, claimed that the current conceptualization of Aad as affecting Ab only under low involvement conditions should be revised. This claim was supported by the finding that much of Aad's influence on Ab, and all of Aad's influence on brand cognitions was through Aad-c rather than Aad-nc.

H1b: The Non-claim cognitions -> Aad-nc link will be stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement condition.

H1c: The claim cognition -> Aad-c will be stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement condition.

It is expected that when elaboration is at a low level, persuasion occurs mostly due to the executional elements in the ad serving as peripheral cues, while, in the case of high message processing involvement, persuasion depends on viewers' responses to the claims made in the ad. Also, from research on the effects of verbal and visual components of advertisements on brand attitude (Mitchell, 1986; Miniard *et al.* 1990) the following set of hypotheses were derived.

H2a: Aad-c will be more influenced by the claim strength in the high involvement condition.

H2b: Ab-u will be more influenced by the claim strength in the high involvement condition.

H2c: Aad-nc will be more influenced by picture attractiveness in the low involvement condition.

H2d: Ab-h will be more influenced by picture attractiveness in the low involvement condition.

Finally, the path configurations are expected as follows. Since Aad-c is conceptualized as representing the central route, the Aad-c to Ab-u link is expected to be the dominant path through which persuasion (purchase intention) occurs when viewers' processing involvement level is high. Likewise, when the elaboration level is low the Aad-nc to Ab-h link is expected to be the dominant path to PI. Based on this reasoning the following hypotheses are proposed.

H3a: In high involvement condition, the Aad-c -> Ab-u -> PI link becomes more dominant than the Aad-nc -> Ab-h -> PI link.

H3b: In low involvement condition, the Aad-nc -> Ab-h -> PI link becomes more dominant than the Aad-c -> Ab-u -> PI link.

H3c: The Aad-nc -> Cb link will be stronger for the low involvement condition than the high involvement condition.

H3d: The Aad-c -> Cb link will be stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement condition.

METHOD

Overview

An experimental study was conducted in which student subjects were asked to process a test ad and a control ad for a hypothetical sunscreen brand. The major purpose of the study was to test the hypotheses that Aad consists of claim and nonclaim components, and consumers' level of ad processing involvement will determine which component is more dominant in influencing subsequent brand attitudes. The processing involvement was manipulated by giving different instructions designed to alter subjects' level of elaboration of the ad content. Attribute claims made in the ads served as the central cues and pictures used in the ads served as the peripheral cues.

Selection of Product

Selection of the product was based on two criteria. First, it had to be a product class that the student subjects would consider for purchase. Second, since the study operationalized involvement as message processing involvement, this study needed a product which would fall somewhere in the middle of a scale measuring "product involvement" to eliminate the confounding effects of product involvement. In a pretest measuring product involvement, sunscreen was found to satisfy the criteria.

Subjects and Procedure

A total of 104 undergraduate students enrolled in advertising and business courses at a midwestern university participated in the study and received course credit. Subjects were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions of a 2 (high or low involvement) x 2 (strong or weak attribute claims) x 2 (attractive or unattractive pictures) factorial design. All the sessions were conducted in groups of eight subjects.

To eliminate potential selection bias, the study was designed so that subjects in a single session were randomly exposed to different experimental treatments, with the one constraint that each session used either the high or the low involvement treatment . Consequently, in each experimental session two subjects were given the strong/attractive version, another two were given the strong/unattractive version, another two were given the weak/attractive version, and the last two were given the weak/unattractive version of the hypothetical brand Rayblock.

After subjects were seated, they were instructed to read only the first page (consent form) and the second page of the questionnaire. The second page contained the instructions that manipulated involvement. After reading the instructions, subjects were exposed to one of the four test ads (2 x 2, to be explained) for **Rayblock** and a control ad for a hypothetical brand **Sunshade**. The content of the control ad was constant across all conditions and contained the same copy used for the strong version of Rayblock ads. Following Miniard *et al.*'s (1990) procedure, the control ad lacked any color or photography although it contained a line drawing of the bottle on which the brand name appeared. This ad was clearly inferior to the Rayblock ads in terms of overall appearance. After reading the stimulus materials at their own pace, the subjects answered the items in the questionnaire. They were asked not to discuss the experiment with anyone else because if those yet to participate knew about the experiment, the internal validity of the study would be threatened. The experimenter thanked subjects for their participation and dismissed them.

Independent Variables

Involvement. This study used the procedure reported in Park and Young (1986) study, which asks subjects to assume different levels of involvement. The following instruction was given to subjects in the high involvement condition:

> "According to Consumer Reports, there are substantial differences in quality among major brands of suntan lotion available on the market as measured by functional performance. You will be shown a print ad for each of two new brands of suntan lotion and then asked to make a choice between the two brands. The ads may contain information on those performance characteristics as well as other features. Please assume that you are about to take a trip to the Bahamas and you need to purchase a suntan lotion, and read the ads as though you were trying to learn about the brands' benefits and effectiveness. In other words, please focus on the product information provided in the ads. At the end of the session you may receive the

> brand of your choice as an additional compensation for your participation. Now read the ads right next to you."

Subjects in the low involvement condition were given the following instruction:

> "According to Consumer Reports, there are **no** substantial differences in quality among major brands of suntan lotion available on the market as measured by functional performance. You will be shown a print ad for each of two new brands of suntan lotion and then asked to make a choice between the two brands. The ads may contain information on those performance characteristics as well as other features. Assume that you are preoccupied by a very difficult class project due tomorrow. Furthermore, now that summer is over you do not plan to buy a suntan lotion in the near future. You are asked to look at the ads as if you were sitting in your living room, worrying about the project, and knowing that you have no need to purchase a suntan lotion. Now look at the ads right next to you."

Notice that two tactics were used to manipulate involvement in addition to asking subjects to assume different levels of involvement. First is the citation of Consumer Reports. Second, high involvement subjects were told that they may receive a free gift to increase their personal relevance (*cf.*, Petty & Cacioppo, 1979).

Claims. Claim strengths was manipulated by altering the copy of the ads. The ads contained four attributes: the sun protection factor (SPF), nongreasiness, waterproofness, and hypoallergenic nature of the product. A total of 111 undergraduates participated in a series of pretests conducted to determine the strong/weak claims to be used in the final ad copy. For example, the strong claim on SPF said, "Rayblock lotions offer a wide range of protection to meet your special skin care needs. Rayblock with SPF 15, for example, blocks out 97 percent of the sun's burning UVB rays and deeper penetrating UVA rays." The weak copy, in contrast, said, "Rayblock lotions offer a wide range of protection to meet your needs. Rayblock with SPF 15, for example, blocks some of the sun's burning UVB rays."

Picture. A pretest was conducted to select one attractive and one unattractive picture out of fourteen pictures. These pictures contained a wide variety of stimuli ranging from portraits of animals (snakes, mouse, insects), scenery (tropical beaches, waterfall, dessert) to a human skeleton. Each of the pictures was shown for about fifteen seconds to a total of thirty-eight subjects in a pretest. The picture that was evaluated as the most attractive was a tropical beach scene. The stimulus rated as the most unattractive was a picture of a human skeleton half buried in a desert. These two pictures were used to manipulate the attractiveness of picture in the test ads.

Dependent Variables

Cognitive Responses. Subjects' cognitions were measured by the open-ended thought listing method (Wright, 1973; MacKenzie *et al.*, 1986; Homer, 1990; Miniard *et al.*, 1990). Immediately following the exposure to the test ad, subjects were instructed to list any thoughts, feelings, ideas, and images that occurred to them while viewing the ad. Later the thoughts were coded, first into thoughts directed toward the ad and thoughts directed toward the brand. Thoughts directed to the ad were further categorized into non-claim cognitions and claim cognitions. The three groups of thoughts and feelings (brand cognitions, claim cognitions, and non-claim cognitions) finally were indexed into three measures by subtracting negative thoughts from the positive ones.

Attitude Toward the Ad. For the Aad-c and Aad-nc measurement, this study replicated the instructions and scales used in the Miniard *et al.*'s (1990, p.295) study.

> In obtaining your reaction to the ad, we would like for you to distinguish between two basic components of the ad. The first component involves the claims made about the product. The second component involves the remaining elements within the ad such as the format, pictures or illustrations, colors, type style, spacing, and so forth. Concerning the first component, how would you evaluate the claims made about **Rayblock**?

Then subjects' Aad-c were measured using semantic differential scale items (persuasive/unpersuasive, informative/uninformative, strong/weak, and believable/ unbelievable), which were later summed to form a scale (alpha=.87). Subjects then were asked, "Concerning the second component, how would you evaluate the remaining elements (everything except the claims) within the **Rayblock** ad?" Their Aad-nc were assessed using three items (positive/negative, good/bad, and favorable/unfavorable), which were summed into a single index (alpha=.92).

Attitude Toward the Brand. Brand attitude was measured by a similar semantic differential scale developed by Batra and Ahtola (1991). Ab-u was assessed by "useful/useless, valuable/worthless, and beneficial/harmful," which then were added together to form a single index (alpha=.91). Ab-h items were pleasant/unpleasant, nice/awful, and agreeable/disagreeable, which were then summed into a single index (alpha=.94).

Purchase Intentions. Purchase intentions, "the likelihood that you will purchase Rayblock when it becomes available in the area," were assessed via two semantic differential items (probable/improbable, likely/unlikely) which later were added together (alpha=.98). This operationalization has been used by MacKenzie *et al.* (1986), Homer (1990), Miniard *et al.* (1990), and Yoon (1992).

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

The claim strength manipulation was verified by a seven-point semantic differential scale where "1" represented "weak" and "7" represented "strong." The mean for the subjects in the strong claim condition was 5.02 (n=52) as compared to 3.58 (n=52) for the subjects in the weak claim condition, and this difference was significant at .001 level.

Verification of the picture attractiveness manipulation was achieved via a four-item (good/bad, like/dislike, pleasant/unpleasant, and attractive/unattractive) index of attitude toward the picture. Analysis of the items showed that the manipulation was successful. Scores on each item revealed significant differences (t scores ranging from 5.17 to 16.1) in the anticipated direction at .001 level. The combined overall index (alpha=.94, n=104) also showed a significant difference (t=9.98, p<.001), with the subjects in the attractive picture condition reporting substantially higher scores than those in the unattractive condition.

Subjects' involvement with the ad was assessed by a four-item scale used by Muehling and Laczniak (1988). Subjects were asked to indicate the degree to which they "paid attention to," "concentrated," and "put thought into evaluating" the messages in the ad. Also the degree to which subjects "thought the ad relevant for my needs" was asked. The results showed that the involvement manipulation was successful. A significant difference was found in the anticipated direction between the high and low involvement conditions when measured by all four items at .01 level except the last item which was significant at .05 level.

Analysis of Cognitive Responses

The analysis of the open-ended cognitive response data was completed in three phases. In the first phase, two judges who were blind to the experimental conditions and hypotheses decomposed each protocol into separate thoughts through discussion.

In the second phase, the same two judges independently coded each protocol initially into thoughts directed to the brand (brand cognitions), thoughts directed to the ad (ad cognitions), and all others including random, irrelevant thoughts (refer to Appendix A). Brand cognitions next were assigned either to counter argument or support argument (*cf.* Wright, 1973, 1980). Ad cognitions were categorized into either ad claim cognitions, nonclaim cognitions, or overall cognitions. These ad cognitions were finally assigned valence (positive or negative). Finally, random and irrelevant thoughts were categorized as "all others." As shown in Table 1, the total number of cognitions was 440. Out of the total of 440 items, the judges initially disagreed on 43 items, for an agreement rate of 90.23 percent. They resolved all the discrepancies through discussion.

In the third phase of the analysis, cognitive response indices--brand cognitions, claim cognitions, and non-claim cognitions--were constructed by subtracting the total number of negative statements in each category from the total number of positive statements in the corresponding category. Each index, therefore, represented the net valence of the cognitions in each of the categories (MacKenzie *et al.*, 1986). Similarly, brand cognitions were combined into a single index by subtracting the counter arguments from the support arguments. Indices for claim cognitions and non-claim cognitions were also constructed by subtracting the negative statements from the positive statements in each category.

Note in Table 1 that thirty two responses (7.27%) reflected either positive (24) or negative (8) overall evaluations of the ad. Because of the theoretical concerns that such responses are direction between the high and low involvement conditions when measured by all four items at .01 level except the last item which was significant at .05 level.

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Note in Table 1 that thirty two responses (7.27%) reflected either positive (24) or negative (8) overall evaluations of the ad. Because of the theoretical concerns that such responses are indicators of overall affect (as opposed to the cognitions leading to affect) they were not included in subsequent analysis (*cf.* Miniard et al., 1990; Olson, Toy, & Dover, 1982; Wright, 1980).

Insert Table 1 about here

Hypothesis Tests

H1a predicted that the path between brand cognitions and attitude toward the brand (operationalized as Ab-u and Ab-h in the study) would be stronger for the high involvement group than the low involvement group. As seen in Table 3, however, the Cb --> Ab-h path coefficient was insignificant for both conditions. The same was true for the Cb --> Ab-u coefficient

H1b anticipated that the path between non-claim cognitions and Aad-nc would be stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement condition. However, the results showed that the path coefficients for both conditions (.72 and .74) were equally significant. Two *post hoc* speculations seem plausible for these finding. First, the strong path coefficient for the low involvement condition can be attributed to the fact that the study could not create a true low involvement condition . Because of the relatively high level of involvement shown by the low involvement group (the mean was greater than the scale mid-point of 4), subjects in the low involvement condition may have processed the ad cognitively just as those in the high involvement condition did. Second, as the ELM posited, subjects in the low involvement condition might have paid a high level of attention to the non-claim elements in the ad, thus naturally producing the observed strong correlation between non-claim cognitions and Aad-nc. If this is the case, the non-claim cognitions may not represent "cognitions" in its traditional sense, at least when subjects' involvement level is low.

H1c predicted that the claim cognitions to Aad-c link would be stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement condition. The path coefficient for the high involvement condition (.40, p<.01) was stronger than for the low condition (.03, p=.81), thus supporting H1c.

Hypotheses H2a, H2b, H2c, and H2d were tested by examining the effects of manipulation on the dependent variables. Table 2 shows the means of dependent variables by experimental condition along with the significance of F's related with the independent variables. Each dependent variable was submitted to a 2 (involvement) x 2 (claim strength) x 2 (picture attractiveness) ANOVA.

H2a predicted that Aad-c will be more influenced by the claim strength in the high involvement condition. As shown in Figure 4, a significant interaction effect (F=8.46, p=.005) was found between involvement and claim strength, supporting H2a. Although subjects in the strong claims condition reported higher Aad-c score (M=5.44) than subjects in the weak claims condition (M=3.99), this phenomenon was more prominent when the involvement level was high as expected (mean of 5.56 and 3.42 for the strong and weak claim conditions respectively). The difference was far smaller when involvement was low; Aad-c score was 5.32 for the subjects exposed to the strong claims compared with 4.56 for those exposed to the weak claims. From these findings, it is inferred that the effects of strong claims made in an ad are reduced when consumers are not highly involved with the ad.

H2b predicted that Ab-u will be more influenced by the claim strength in the high involvement condition than in the low involvement condition. The Ab-u scale was submitted to a 2x2x2 analysis of variance. There were, however, no significant interaction effects ((F=2.40, p=.13) between claim strength and involvement on Ab-u, thus failing to support H2b. Only claim strength had significant effects (F=8.73, p<.005); regardless of involvement, subjects in the strong claim condition reported more favorable (M=5.54) Ab-u than those in the weak claim condition (M=4.73).

H2c predicted that Aad-nc will be more influenced by picture attractiveness in the low involvement condition. To test this hypothesis the Aad-nc scale was subjected to a 2x2x2 ANOVA. This hypothesis was not supported since there was no significant interaction between involvement and picture attractiveness (F=.06, p=.81) on Aad-nc. Results showed, instead, that involvement and picture attractiveness had significant main effects on subjects' Aad-nc. A significant difference (F=6.97, p=.01) was found between the Aad-nc scores of the subjects in the high involvement condition (M=4.32) and those who were in the low involvement condition (M=5.13). Notice that subjects in the low involvement condition reported more favorable Aad-nc. This may be an indirect evidence that subjects in the low involvement condition paid more attention to the peripheral cues in the ad, thus forming a more favorable attitude to those cues. Subjects in the attractive picture condition (M=5.85) revealed a significantly higher (F=56.69, p<.0001) Aad-nc than those in the unattractive picture condition (M=3.63).

H2d predicted that Ab-h will be more influenced by picture attractiveness in the low involvement condition. This hypothesis was not supported since there was no significant interaction effect between picture and involvement manipulations (F=.79, p=.38) on Ab-h. Results showed that picture attractiveness (F=13.61, p<.0001) had significant effects on subjects' Ab-h. Subjects who saw the attractive picture reported more favorable Ab-h (M=5.10) than those who saw the unattractive picture (M=4.22).

Estimation of the Proposed Model

The proposed model and the H3 group hypotheses were tested by the PATH sub-routine in *PACKAGE* (Hunter *et al.*, 1980), which employs the ordinary least squares method. The ordinary least squares estimation was adopted for the study because the maximum likelihood estimation method used in LISREL (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1986) tends to be unstable when the sample size is small (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

Table 3 shows the results of the path analysis. Notice the Aad-c to Aad-nc path for the high involvement sample. Miniard *et al.* (1990) specified a reciprocal path between the two in their study. This study did not follow their specification because of the theoretical ambiguity of the reciprocal path. Miniard *et al*. maintained:

> The figure also indicates the possibility of causal relationships being present among the Aad components. The path from Aad-nc to Aad-c reflects the potential for the affect generated by nonclaim elements to serve as a peripheral cue that influences the acceptance of ad claims. This relationship also may occur when a nonclaim

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> element serves as an argument relevant to the ad claims. Conversely, the claims may shape one's reactions to the nonclaim elements, thus accounting for the path from Aad-c to Aad-nc (1990, p. 299).

Interestingly, their results show that the Aad-nc -> Aad-c path was significant only for the low involvement condition. In contrast, the Aad-c -> Aad-nc path was significant only for the high involvement condition. Based on these two findings, this study specified the Aad-nc to Aad-c path for the low involvement sample and the Aad-c to Aad-nc path for the high involvement sample. The path coefficients were .42 (p<.01) and .15 (p=.09), respectively.

When the Aad-nc to Aad-c path was not specified for the low involvement sample, the model did not fit the data (Chi square=30.20, p<.05). With the addition of the Aad-nc --> Aad-c path, the model fit the data very well (Chi square=13.7, d.f.=15, p>.50). To verify whether the improvement is totally an artifact of the additional path specification, the same model was tested again with the addition of the Aad-c to Aad-nc path instead of the Aad-nc to Aad-c. The result showed that the model with the Aad-c to Aad-nc path (Chi square=20.89, p>.20) is better than the one without any path between the constructs, suggesting the possibility of the fit improvement being a product of the statistical artifact. A comparison of the Chi square statistics for the two different specifications, however, clearly demonstrates that the Aad-nc --> Aad-c specification is a better representation of the data than the other way around.

H3a predicted that when involvement is high, the Aad-c -> Ab-u -> PI link would be more dominant than the Aad-nc -> Ab-h -> PI link. For the high involvement condition, the path between Ab-u and PI was found to be significant (.50, p<.001) and the path between Ab-h and PI was insignificant (.16, p>..26), thus supporting H3a.

H3b predicted that in the low involvement situation, the Aad-nc -> Ab-h -> PI link would be more dominant than the Aad-c -> Ab-u -> PI path. However, the Ab-u to PI path (.40, p<.01) was stronger than the Ab-h to PI path (.21, p=.11), thus negating H3b. A careful comparison of the individual path coefficients, however, suggests that the hypothesis should not be rejected entirely. Notice that the Ab-h to PI path was also stronger for the low involvement sample (.21, p=.11) than the high involvement sample (.16, p=.26), suggesting that the direction is consistent with the hypothesis.

H3c predicted that the Aad-nc --> Cb path would be stronger for the low involvement condition than the high involvement condition. Comparison of the two coefficients using the Fisher's Z_r Transformation (Edwards, 1984) procedure showed no significant difference between the two coefficients (z=1.02, p=.15).

H3d predicted that the Aad-c --> Cb path would be stronger for the high involvement condition than the low involvement condition. The same Fisher's procedure showed that there is a significant difference (z=1.76, p<.04) in the expected direction, supporting the hypothesis.

Discussion of the Model

Generally, it appears that Ab-u is a more powerful predictor of subjects' purchase intentions than the Ab-h at least in an experimental session. This was particularly true in the high involvement condition. Of note is the relationship between Ab-u and Ab-h. As expected, Ab-u exerted a significant effect on Ab-h in the high involvement condition while Ab-h had a significant effect on Ab-u in the low involvement condition. The Aad-c --> Ab-u path was the main contributor to purchase intentions in the high involvement condition. Aad-c, in turn, was strongly influenced by ad claim cognitions. Although Aad-nc had a strong effect on Ab-h, the influence was not directly translated to purchase intentions in the high involvement conditions. The subjects in the low involvement condition revealed an interesting pattern of advertising processing. Ab-u was still the major predictor of purchase intentions as in the high involvement condition. But, Ab-u was strongly mediated by both Aad-c and Ab-h . Ab-h, in turn, were strongly mediated by Aad-nc. The strong influence of Aad-nc on Aad-c in the low involvement condition becomes more apparent considering that there was no significant path between ad claim cognitions and Aad-c. It was found that Aad-nc had a strong effect on Ab-h, and Ab-h in turn had a strong mediating effect on purchase intentions indirectly through Ab-u in addition to its own moderate effect on purchase intentions. Thus, it appears that Aad-nc has a stronger influence on PI in the low involvement condition than in the high involvement condition.

In both conditions, brand cognitions did not have significant influence on subjects' brand attitudes. Two *post hoc* speculations are possible for this unintuitively weak effect of Cb on Ab. First, it might have been caused by the unknown quality of the Cb measurement (MacKenzie et al., 1986). Two finding make this speculation highly plausible. First, note that Aad-c had a strong effect on Cb in both conditions and yet this influence was not transferred to Ab through Cb. Second, Table 1 shows that the number of brand cognitions was higher than ad claim cognitions. Notice, however, that the differential between the positive cognitions and negative cognitions is smaller for brand cognitions. This might have cancelled out the magnitude of brand cognitions, thus resulting in the insignificant path to brand attitudes. Maybe, then, simply subtracting the negative cognitions from the positive cognitions is not a proper procedure. A second speculation of the weak effect of Cb on Ab is that it is an artifact of the experimental condition. The instruction to attend to the ads might have been so powerful that subjects may have paid an unnaturally high amount of attention to the ads, thus producing a smaller number of brand cognitions than they would normally do in a natural setting. This is a good speculation considering that most subjects were advertising majors.

Finally, the results showed that our model has a great fit with Chi-square of 7.61 (d.f.=15, p>.90) and 13.7 (d.f.=15, p>.50) for the high and low involvement conditions, respectively. This results compare favorably with Miniard *et al.*'s results which showed p of .102 and .394 for the high and low involvement conditions, thus justifying at least in part our model's sacrifice in parsimony. But, aside from the statistical justification, our study contributed to the understanding of the complicated relationships among consumers' attitudes toward the ad and brand and further the attitudes' role in the formation of purchase intentions. We feel that our model can be used as a diagnostic tool of testing advertisements.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The findings and conclusions of the study are qualified by several limitations. The first limitation is the external validity of the results, since the research was conducted in a laboratory setting. A related problem is the subjects used in the study. Being advertising students, their interest in advertising in general is expected to be higher than non-advertising majors. Therefore, they might have paid an unusually high level of attention to the advertising stimuli. Further research should be conducted under different conditions (such as natural nonlaboratory settings) with different subject populations.

A second limitation involves the measurement of subjects' responses immediately after just one exposure to the ads. In fact, the single exposure to an ad for a hypothetical brand is speculated to be the cause of the insignificant path between Cb and Ab. Future research should investigate the proposed model by employing varying levels of exposure and delay of measurement. Also, as discussed above an investigation is needed regarding the appropriateness of the popular procedure of subtracting the negative cognitions from the positive ones to calculate brand cognitions.

Another limitation is the use of human skeleton as a peripheral cue. Such a blatantly unattractive picture is very unusual, especially in suntan lotion ads, unless the objective of the advertising campaign is to dramatically enhance the attention-getting ability of the ad. The skeleton picture also might have caused a confounding effect, i.e., fear appeal when the intended purpose was only "unattractiveness." This certainly is an important issue to be further investigated.

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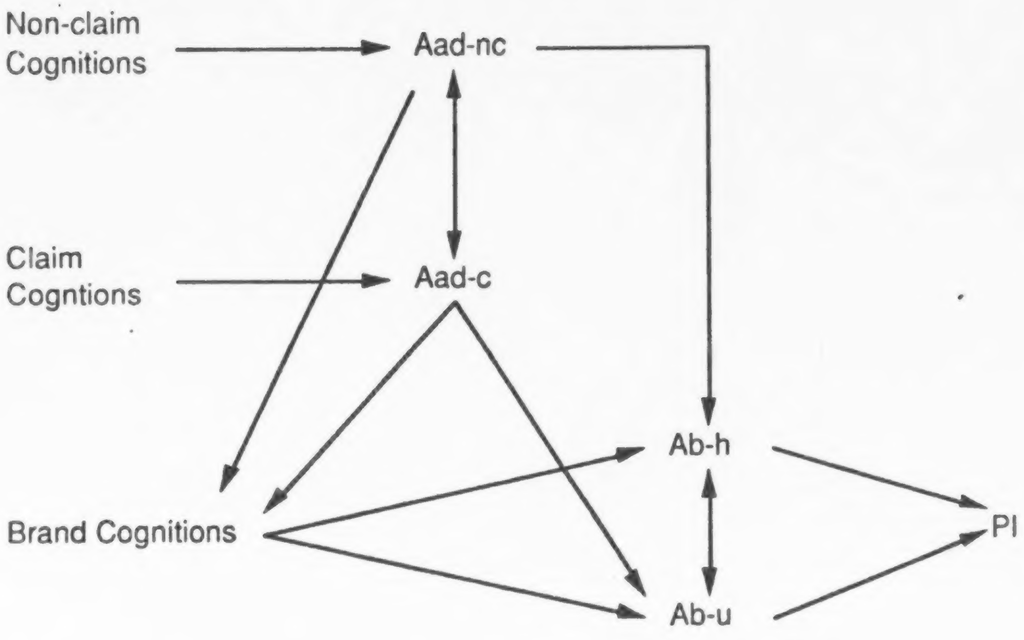
Non-claim Cognitions
Aad-nc
Claim Cogntions
Aad-c
Ab-h
Brand Cognitions
PI
Ab-u

Figure 3: A proposed Advertising Response Model

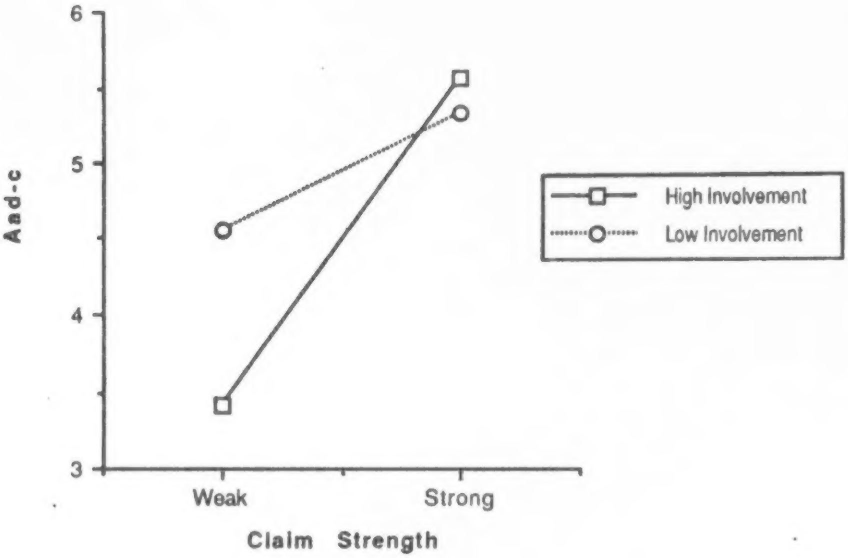

Figure 4: Interaction effects between Claim and Involvement on Aad-c

Table 1: Cognitive Response Categories and Frequencies

Category	Frequency	%
Brand Cognitions		
Counter argument	60	13.64%
Support argument	44	10
Ad Claim Cognitions		
Positive statements	11	2.5
Negative statements	35	7.95
Non-claim Cognitions		
Positive statements	146	33.18
negative statements	90	20.45
Overall positive statements about the ad	24	5.45
Overall negative statements about the ad	8	1.82
Random, irrelevant thoughts	21	4.77
TOTAL	**440**	**100**

Table 2: Means of Dependant Variables by Experimental Condition

Measure	High Involvement				Low Involvement				Significance of F Effects		
	Strong Claim		Weak Claim		Strong Claim		Weak Claim				
	+picture*	-picture	+picture	-picture	+picture	-picture	+picture	-picture	Invol	Claim	Picture
Purchase intention**	3.96	3.81	1.92	2.58	4.35	3.46	3.36	3.08	ns††	<.01†	ns
Aad-c**	5.56	5.56	3.50	3.35	5.48	5.15	4.75	4.37	ns	<.001	ns
Aad-nc**	5.64	4.08	5.21	2.49	6.26	3.82	6.28	4.15	.01	ns	<.001
Ab-u**	5.62	5.59	4.23	4.51	5.38	5.56	4.97	5.21	ns	<.005	ns
Ab-h**	5.23	4.67	4.51	3.74	5.51	4.49	5.13	3.97	ns	<.01	<.0001
Involvement Index**	5.15	5.38	5.27	4.37	4.21	3.98	3.69	4.42	<.001	ns	ns

The sample size for each cell was thirteen.
* +picture=attractive picture, -picture=unattractive picture
** Ranged from 1 to 7 where 7 always represented the positive reactions.
† Interpreted as "claim manipulation had significant effects (p<.01) on purchase intention.
†† Not significant at .05 alpha level.
Legend:
Aad-c: attitude toward the claims made in the ad
Aad-nc: attitude toward all other elements in the ad
Ab-u:utilitarian attitude toward the brand
Ab-h: hedonic attitude toward the brand.

Table 3: Path Analysis Results for the Proposed Model

Path	Coefficients by Condition	
	High Invol	Low Invol
CRnc --> Aad-nc	.72 (<.01)	.74 (<.01)
CRc --> Aad-c	.40 (<.01)	.03 (.81)
Cb --> Ab-h	.05 (.66)	-.10 (.53)
Cb --> Ab-u	.11 (.47)	.07 (.65)
Aad-nc --> Cb	-.02 (.81)	.22 (.13)
Aad-nc --> Ab-h	.37 (<.01)	.40 (<.01)
Aad-c --> Cb	.61 (<.01)	.34 (.02)
Aad-c --> Ab-u	.51 (<.01)	.37 (<.01)
Ab-h --> PI	.16 (.26)	.21 (.11)
Ab-u --> PI	.50 (<.01)	.40 (<.01)
Aad-nc --> Aad-c	NA	.42 (<.01)
Aad-c --> Aad-nc	.15 (.09)	NA
Ab-u --> Ab-h	.54 (<.01)	NA
Ab-h --> Ab-u	NA	.28 (.04)
Fit Statistics		
Chi square	7.61	13.7
Degree of freedom	15	15
p-value	>.90	>.50

Legend:
CRnc: cognitive response about non-claim elements
CRc: cognitive response about claim
Cb: brand cognitions

APPENDIX A

CODING OF COGNITIVE RESPONSES

A. Thoughts directed to the brand

1. Counterarguments: Statements which are directed against the idea of or the use of the brand and which:

    a. state a specific unfavorable consequences of using the product
    b. state a specific undesirable attribute of the product
    c. suggest an alternative method for handling one of the problems cited in the advertising message
    d. state a specific favorable or desirable consequence or attribute of an alternative brand
    e. challenge the accuracy or validity of a specific argument contained in the advertising message

2. Support Arguments: Statements which are directed in favor of the idea or use of the brand and which:

    a. state a specific favorable consequence of using the brand
    b. state a specific desirable attribute of the brand
    c. suggest an undesirable consequence of not using the brand
    d. reaffirm the accuracy or validity of an argument presented in the commercial

B. Thoughts directed toward the ad

3. Positive statements concerning ad claims
4. Negative statements concerning ad claims
5. Positive statements concerning the other elements of the ad including picture, layout, typeset, etc.
6. Negative statements concerning the other elements of the ad including picture, layout, typeset, etc.
7. Overall positive statements about the ad
8. Overall negative statements about the ad

C. All others

9. Random, irrelevant thoughts